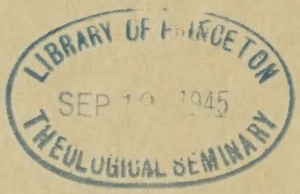

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THE NEW EDUCATION AND RELIGION

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THE NEW EDUCATION AND RELIGION

A Challenge to Secularism in Education

BY

J. PAUL WILLIAMS

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TO

ELLEN PINSON WILLIAMS

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Preface

In the last paragraph of his *History of the Ancient World* M. Rostovtzeff writes:[1]

Thus here again, in the case of the Roman Empire, a steady decline of civilization is not to be traced to physical degeneration, or to any debasement of blood in the higher races due to slavery, or to political and economic conditions, but rather to *a changed attitude of men's minds.* [Italics mine.]

Harold Laski, commenting on modern civilization, writes in a similar vein:[2]

I do not think any one can examine with care our contemporary situation without being constantly reminded that we again require some faith that will revitalize the human mind. Almost as clearly as in the declining days of the Roman Empire, our scheme of values seems to have broken down.

The achievement of a faith adequate to maintain and enhance a free democratic society is the most serious obligation confronting our nation's leaders. Such a faith is essentially religious in character, since it must deal with the basic values of men, their fundamental orientation. If men in our society achieve this faith, it will be because they receive an adequate education in religion. Thus it follows that the status of religious education is a factor of major importance for the future of American society. Yet the prestige of religious education in America is exceedingly low. This statement characterizes its status as a profession, as an object of academic inquiry, and as a subject for study in schools and colleges. The teachers'

[1]M. Rostovtzeff, *History of the Ancient World,* Oxford Press, 1928, p. 366.

[2]Harold Laski, *Faith, Reason, and Civilization,* Viking Press, New York, 1944, p. 28.

colleges, in spite of their oft-repeated assertion that schools must deal with life as a whole, ignore religious education. Even the theological schools treat it with bare tolerance; most young ministers finish their professional training with no understanding of educational philosophies or of educational psychology, and usually they have a mild disdain for what they call "pedagogy." The training of priests and rabbis usually brings them to a more positive attitude toward the educational institutions of their own sect.

The purpose of this book is to reassert the importance of religion and of religious education; to broaden the conception of religious education to include all those formative experiences by means of which men achieve their hierarchy of values; to point out the extent to which present methods of religious education are inadequate; and to suggest methods whereby American public and private institutions can, without compromising religious freedom, provide a more adequate education in religion.

I am deeply indebted to Professor F. Ernest Johnson, Professor L. K. Hall, Professor S. Ralph Harlow, Helen Hobart Williams, and Virginia P. Matthias, each of whom read the manuscript and made many suggestions, and to Professor Harold Laski, who, in a conversation which he has no doubt forgotten, appraised the philosophy of religious freedom which is expressed in Chapters VI and VII. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to *School and Society* and the *Bulletin of American Association of University Professors* for permission to use material which originally appeared in the pages of these magazines.

I am indebted also to the many authors and publishers whose names appear in the footnotes, for permission to use their writings and copyrighted materials. I wish also to express my appreciation to Marion Hosken, who helped in the reading of the proof.

CHAPTER I

The Struggle for the Control of Education

EITHER American educators will create a new education, one that is more germane to the real concerns of society, or else their successors will create a new education—successors who may come from the left, but who more probably will come from the right. Education faces mold-shattering changes.

Blunt as these statements are, they reflect the essential significance for education of the social revolution of our time. For the tumult in the midst of which we live has deep meanings for all phases of modern life, and its effects on education cannot but be profound. Indeed, some of these effects are already manifest. Professor I. L. Kandel, one of the most astute American observers of European education, has stated the opinion that "education is the most Fascist aspect of the Fascist Revolution, the most Communist feature of the Communist Revolution, and the most Nazi expression of the National Socialist Revolution."[1] American education will change either in response to forces of its own generation or because it is seized by some social movement run amuck.

For almost half a century pioneer educational theorists have realized the need for a fundamental reorientation of our schools and colleges, and have been dreaming and working for a new, democratic education. This education, when it is viewed from

[1] *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science,* Vol. 182 (November, 1935), p. 153.

the point of view of society, is thought of as having two essential functions: one function is the traditional one of transmitting the existing culture, and the second function is that of assisting in the creation of a new culture.

The thesis that education can be a factor in the formation of cultural patterns may surprise some readers. Yet surely even a brief acquaintance with history will persuade one that education has been the creator as well as the creature of cultures. For example, it was the Revival of Learning incident upon the recovery of the classical Greek and Roman literatures which led to the Renaissance. It may be argued that the schools have usually been content simply to reflect the wishes of the dominant classes. But it must be admitted that the leaders in any society have seldom been powerful and clever enough to dictate the policies of the schools wholly in their own interests. Thus from the schools have sometimes come ideas of revolutionary import—where else was fostered the intellectual revolution of our century? Further, if one views education as something bigger than the schools, if he views it as all those forces which shape the thoughts of men, it is abundantly clear that education is the creator of cultures. In the comments of Professor Charles A. Ellwood on modern Germany can be seen a striking illustration of this point:

> One hundred and fifty years ago Germany was noted for its piety and general religious spirit. Its philosophers and theologians, along with its great literary men, made it, as was often said, "the home of the human spirit." But Germany about that time entered upon a policy of universal compulsory military education of all its young men. Every German youth was conditioned not only to the techniques of military training, but conditioned to think and feel from the military point of view. The military tactician came more and more to rule in this land that had been frequently acknowledged to be the most cultured country in all Europe. More and more, Germany became a military garrison. . . . There is no mystery, however, in the fall of this "most cultured land" down to the level of a military garrison. It was all

accomplished by a century of training in which every German youth was conditioned to think, feel, and act as military tacticians taught that they should think, feel, and act; namely, to uphold always *at all costs* the military system, because only in that system "was there safety for the Fatherland."[2]

The leaders who are blazing the trail toward what they hope will be the new education for democracy believe, along with the rest of us, that in education lies the hope of the world. But in addition they see, as many do not, that in education lies also the despair of the world. For one kind of education today will produce, a generation hence, a Fascist dictatorship; another kind will produce a Communist dictatorship; another kind will supinely follow the dictates of whatever masters are currently in power; another kind will create the beginnings of a brave, new, democratic adventure. Men are not wise enough as yet, perhaps they never will be wise enough, to understand all the factors which go into the making of these various educations. But enough is understood to make us believe that the educators of any society—not necessarily its teachers—are the masters of the future; they are the ones who have the last word. Beside them the politicians are as puppets.

Powerful forces are struggling in America today for the control of the school. For the school is the point at which society is most self-conscious in its educational efforts. In addition, the school is the most easily controlled of our educational institutions (more easily controlled than, say, the home or the church) and it is the most responsive of our educational institutions to changed points of view. Thus programs designed to capture the schools are sponsored by many national agencies: the National Association of Manufacturers, the Army, the Catholic Church, the Progressive Education Association, and any number of smaller fry. The attack on the Rugg textbooks was no mere ripple on the surface of

[2]*Fellowship,* Vol. 9 (April, 1943), p. 72.

national thought; it was an indication of the powerful interests that are attempting to control the wave of the future. The *New York Times* history survey was inept as a technical measuring device; but it was not inept in its technique of achieving more satisfactory public relations for the group who want less teaching of the Rugg type of social science.

Those of us who believe that our nation can achieve more democracy, that is, come nearer to a society which considers each human personality as an end and not as a means, can take great satisfaction in the labors of the men and women who are striving to achieve a new, democratic education. These men and women are extremely intelligent, they have refused to be bound by the traditional educational assumptions, they have used the insights of modern science, they have experimented with new methods, they have aimed to give in the schools an adequate picture of our whole culture, they have tried to educate the whole child, they have taught their students the value of critical thinking, they have tried to give their students the tools with which to attack the unknown problems of the future, they have devoted themselves to their cause with a fervor which has often approached that of the religious devotee. And they have built a powerful movement. Their ideas are espoused in most of the teachers' colleges of the nation, and some of our largest public school systems are committed, at least in theory, to the slow reconstruction of their curricula in line with more democratic ideals and methods. Yet it is by no means certain that this type of education will win the day. The same question confronts education as confronts the whole of our society: Can we preserve what democracy we have and go on to achieve greater democratic victories? The struggle for the control of the school is on.

In view of the unquestioned intelligence and the unusual sensitivity of the leaders of the effort to achieve a new, democratic education, it is surprising that they ignore religion. Religion has no place in their philosophy, their plans, or their

strategy. They design to introduce the child to the complete culture, but they leave out of their reckoning one of the basic aspects of all the historic cultures; they wish to educate the whole child, but they refuse to consider one of his fundamental needs; they aim to reach the basic motives of both men and societies, but they ignore the methods which over and over again have been shown to be the most effective in the control of actions and ideas.

When one realizes the full import of the fact that these thinkers are hoping to play a significant part in the reconstruction of society, their cavalier attitude toward religion becomes the more surprising. In the first place, their Fascist-minded opponents are fully aware of the power of thoroughly aroused religious forces. And then again, human needs which are consistently ignored, systematically flouted, have an uncanny and usually unlovely way of becoming embodied in institutions which reach for power and then dominate the social scene. And in the last place, any social movement which fails to achieve the energy of deep-seated religious motivation lacks what it takes to shape a social order.

How can we account for this religious blind spot? There are many factors. The most obvious one is the present view of the meaning of the school laws of the United States which provide for a *nonsectarian* school; "nonsectarian" is almost universally confused with "secular." Another factor is an unfortunate interpretation of our precious American heritage of religious freedom to mean the absence of religion, or even the unimportance of religion. More will be said about these factors on later pages.

But perhaps the most important factor in the neglect of religion on the part of the present leaders in the movement for a new, democratic education is the lack of sympathy which is felt by some of our first-rate intellects for the traditional religions. Many of our contemporaries have espoused a secularist philosophy which is so much at variance with the tradi-

tional Christian and Jewish theologies that in some quarters the prevailing attitude toward religious institutions is one of habitual distrust and frequent bitterness. Some of our contemporaries think of religion as the most serious of civilization's handicaps, and of religious education as the least desirable of all forms of education.

This volume is an effort to rethink the place of religion in American education. So significant for this rethinking is the mood of hostility to religion that the remaining pages of this chapter will attempt to present a logical and systematic rebuttal to the position that religion is a detriment to society, and will defend the importance of religious education. In the succeeding chapters historical and psychological data will be presented which must be taken into account in any adequate reconsideration of the place of religion in education. The last chapters will then attempt to present and appraise the various possible methods by which the new education can utilize the resources of religion.

What is religion?

In ordinary discourse most of us identify religion with the living and thinking that go on in and around the churches. In fact, when we talk about religion, we usually go further than that and mean to refer to the church with which we are most familiar. Parson Thwackum, in Fielding's novel *Tom Jones,* had this idea; he said: "When I mention religion, I mean the Christian religion, and not only the Christian religion but the Protestant religion, and not only the Protestant religion but the Church of England." Each of the 256 religious sects which were found in the United States at the time of the last religious census tends to identify all that is precious in religion with its own beliefs and practices; and its devotees tend in discourse to insist that true religion is identical with their own religion.

Thus when men of different creeds, or perhaps of no creed,

discuss religion they find tolerant discourse exceedingly difficult.

And yet, in the words of George A. Coe, "to identify religion with the major churches . . . is sheer thoughtlessness." Religion has many manifestations. Before one is qualified to undertake a serious definition of religion he must study the data of the religions: Buddhism, Shinto, Islam, Jainism, Humanism, Ethical Culture, and the welter of cults which has grown up in our religiously fertile American soil. After one has done this he finds that the religions of the world exhibit an amazing range of interests. It is probably no exaggeration to say that men have made every sort of persistently recurrent value the object of their religious interests. The Thugs, worshipers of the Hindu goddess Kali, seek by their devotion to become better robbers; the religion of the Todas of central India centers in the supply of milk; that of the Hopi and Zuñi Indians in the American Southwest, in the supply of corn; that of the Arunta of central Australia, in the initiation of the young into the mysteries of the tribe. The function of some religions is to bring victory in battle, of others to bring peace; of some to achieve a blessed immortality, of others to avoid immortality; of some to preserve a political system, of others to hasten the revolution. Some religions center in many gods; and some in no god. Some have sacred books; others have none. Some prescribe the life of prayer to the gods; others advise the devotee to strive for salvation without the help of the gods.

Now in discussing religion in these pages it will be my endeavor to divorce the term from all items of any specific religious faith, my own included. This effort is necessary if we are to come to any common understanding of the meaning of the problem which is under discussion, and if we are to rise above the petty bickerings which often result when sectarians or secularists exchange ideas.

When I use the word *religion* I mean to include all those social patterns—ways of believing and behaving—by which men attempt to relate themselves to what they believe to be

the totality of things, those faiths—and what one does about them—which are fundamental to thinking and living. One's religion is his relation to whatever he believes to be the vital, supreme reality in the universe. One acts religiously whenever he acts in harmony with what he believes to be central in the universe, whenever he strives to think and live in accordance with what he conceives to be the laws of the cosmos as they apply to him. Religion, as I ask you to think of it, is what a person (or a group) does to keep life moving in line with what the person (or group) believes to be the fundamental demands which the universe makes on human beings.

This conception includes of course the traditional religions. Everyone would agree that the Christian is stating a religious conviction when he asserts that the central fact of the universe is the triune God, that God is love, and that while he gives man freedom to love or to hate, he will work with persons or groups who live lovingly in a way which he denies to those who live hatefully. All would agree also that the Orthodox Jew is religious when he denies belief in the Trinity and states his conviction that a messiah will yet be sent to earth and that it is the will of God that men prepare for his coming.

The conception of religion suggested here would include much more than these traditional types of religious behavior. It would include all those social patterns by means of which men relate themselves to what *they* believe to be ultimate reality. The materialist, for example, is behaving religiously, *according to this conception,* when he states and acts upon the propositions that matter is the ultimate fact in the universe, that the only way to unlock the door guarding the secrets of the cosmos is by the use of the scientific method, and that while man has freedom to be either scientific or unscientific, the currents of the universe flow with the man who works scientifically. The Japanese also is religious when he states that the highest loyalty which can be required of a man is loyalty to the Empire, that the Emperor rules by cosmic right, and that the Japanese race

is destined to dominate the earth.[3] Any thinking or living which anyone conceives of as dealing with ultimate values is religious *for him*. Not every person who devotes his life to earning money makes a religion out of it; but those persons do have money as their religion who live on the faith that the eternal scheme of things favors the person who spends his life working for money. Religions of this type—they might be called *secular* religions—are very common in our day. We can see all about us people who make a religion out of such things as the search for pleasure, the love of nature, the devotion to music, the desire for power, though, to be sure, relatively few persons who have these interests make a religion of them. Any goal may become religious if it is set up in the faith that in pursuing it one acts in accordance with ultimate reality.

Carlyle, in his essay "The Hero as Divinity," states this proposition with characteristic vigor:

> The thing a man does practically believe (and this is often enough *without* asserting it even to himself, much less to others); the thing a man does practically lay to heart, and know for certain, concerning his vital relations to this mysterious Universe, and his duty and destiny there, that is in all cases the primary thing for him, and creatively determines all the rest. That is his religion . . . the manner it is, in which he feels himself to be spiritually related to the Unseen World or No-World; and I say, if you tell me what that is, you tell me to a very great extent what the man is, what the kind of things he will do is. Of a man or of a nation we inquire, therefore, first of all, what religion they had. Was it Heathenism,—plurality of gods, mere sensuous representation of this Mystery of Life, and for chief recognized element therein Physical Force? Was it Christianism; faith in an Invisible, not as real only, but as the only reality; . . . Was it Scepticism, uncertainty and inquiry whether there was an Unseen World, any Mystery of Life except a mad one; —doubt as to all this, or perhaps unbelief and flat denial? Answering of this question is giving us the soul of the history of the man or nation.

[3]See Carlton J. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism,* Macmillan, New York, 1926, Chapter 4, for a discussion of "Nationalism as a Religion."

It is apparent that this conception of religion includes many social patterns which most Americans consider to be undesirable. If one accepts the conception, it does not mean that he defends these undesirable patterns; for on the basis of this definition the religious devotee becomes a protagonist not of religion as such, but of a specific religion. Further, many things which pass for religion in the popular mind do not fall within the confines of the definition. Many things which go on inside churches, even in church services, may have no conscious relationship whatever to the attempt of men to relate themselves to what they believe to be ultimate reality.

Religion in this sense is the possession of all sane men. For no rational being can live without assuming—consciously or unconsciously—some principles about the nature of the world in which we live. Faith of some sort cannot be avoided. If one does not have faith in the one God, he has faith in the "fortuitous concourse of atoms," or in the essential rationality of the universe, or in some other conception of ultimate reality.

The assertion that all sane men have a religion does not mean there are no differences in the degree of commitment which men give to their religions. Some men live their lives with constant reference to their religious faith; their lives are integrated around their ideal. Others lack integration: they may make such infrequent reference to their basic ideals that at many points their conduct is inconsistent with those ideals; or it may be that within the ideals themselves are fundamental contradictions.

Objections to ascribing religious faith to all sane men will come from three groups of persons. One would be those who feel that such a conception of religion preserves none of the preciousness of individual religions and states merely a lowest common denominator. That is true; that is exactly what the definition is designed to do. For it is only on the basis of a definition which states a lowest common denominator that a discussion of religious education as a national problem can take all points of view into account.

Another group of persons will object to the assertion that all men are religious, on grounds which they conceive to be very matter-of-fact; they would contend that human beings can never discover anything about ultimate reality and that any attempt to do so is doomed to end in frustration. They assert, therefore, that the effort to be religious must result in failure. The person who holds this position must remember, however, that he lives in the midst of forces of which he must take account, and that these forces form a microcosm in the center of which he lives. Within this microcosm he must assume certain principles and attempt to think and live by them consistently; to fail to do so is to be insane. All thinking must start somewhere. All of us, of course, live at the center of such a microcosm; this is true no matter from what source our conception of the universe may be derived—whether from reason, the church, the Bible, or wherever. For, since only an infinite intelligence could comprehend the universe, our finite minds must operate on the selected phenomena which come within our ken—our microcosm. This statement is true not merely for persons who accept reason as the best tool for discovering truth; it is true also for those who accept the classic Christian and Jewish position that truth has been revealed to man. This classic position does not assume that the *whole* of ultimate truth has been revealed; such an assumption would make man the equal of God in knowledge, a being of infinite wisdom.

Now those unproved and unprovable assumptions which every sane mind—consciously or unconsciously—makes concerning the nature of his microcosm are religious assumptions; they concern the nature of the universe as he conceives it. One person may be willing to make assumptions concerning the far reaches of time and space—assumptions which account for the creation of life and the ultimate destiny of human beings. Another person may be willing to think, so to speak, no farther than the end of his nose, he may go on the assump-

tion that immediate sensory impressions are the only trustworthy data we can have, and he may believe that the immediately discernible mechanical laws are the most basic principles which human beings can discover. Each of these persons is reacting to that which is for him ultimate reality and thus is behaving religiously.

The third group of persons who will object to the conception that all men are religious are those who think it ridiculous to define religion in any other than the dictionary way, a way that simply distills the popular usage. I attempted a careful definition of religion in an article which appeared in *School and Society;* this article evoked a vigorous reply from Professor Edward O. Sisson. This reply is quoted at length, for it represents a widely held point of view:

> Of all the false images which mislead the mind, Bacon declares, the worst are those connected with words and their meanings. Even after all safeguards have been taken, still words manifestly force the understanding, throw everything into confusion, and lead mankind into vain and innumerable controversies and fallacies. This is partly because we are all, however wise, like Humpty Dumpty in our conviction that "When I use a word it means exactly what I wish it to mean, neither more nor less." Such is the flaw in [the] . . . article on religious education in *School and Society,* May 22, 1943.
>
> For religious education as a going concern, a fact of history, and a huge fact too, has always been something totally different from the noble concept ". . . a man's relation to whatever he believes to be the vital, supreme reality in the universe." It has been definitely sectarian, denominational, dogmatic, creedal.
>
> Hence when [religious education is written about] the bulk of those who read will think at once of Catholic religion, or Lutheran, or Baptist, or Mormon, or Christian Science, or even of Buddhist or Shinto instruction. Most of all will those whose minds respond eagerly to the idea grasp at the hope that the type of "religious instruction," the passing of which they mourn, is now to be given a new lease of life, even in the "godless" public schools.
>
> Historically, religion itself as a going concern, as known and

experienced by people, as avowedly practiced, has itself been predominantly sectarian, creedal, dogmatic—and consequently tragically divisive. Little will . . . redefinition of the word, even on a "scientific basis," if such a thing were logically possible, avail to wash out the deep-dyed, age-old significance which the word obstinately carries for the great mass of men.

Certainly the force of these arguments is great. It is true that to the mass of men religion has the age-old dictionary significance. And it is true that getting any other meaning accepted by even the intellectually alert leaders of society will be a difficult task. But what is the alternative? Certainly all unprejudiced minds will agree that the thing I have been talking about is of very great importance. It includes somewhat more than the traditional religions. Should we, therefore, find some other word to describe it? Perhaps some compound of the word *metaphysical* should be used. Yet surely epistemological matters are basic to the conception, as are also ethical matters. Perhaps a new term like metaphysio-epistemo-ethico-motivationalism might describe the conception; or perhaps plain "motivism" or "valuism."

The difficulty with such words is not that they are new and bizarre. The difficulty is that our problem here is not to define a social pattern to the satisfaction of the philosophers and the sociologists—if that were the whole problem, all we would need to do would be to point out the similarities between Christianity, materialism, Communism, and the Snake Dance of the Hopi, call these similarities Social Pattern X, and the job would be done. But our problem is not an academic problem; it is a practical one: How can the new education utilize the deep reaches of motivation which all history shows are necessary to effective social action? Words which are as colorless as that old tintype of your grandmother will never appear outside of the learned journals. It is only the historic words, the words which men have fought over and died for, the words which are surrounded by concrete meanings, that can have

ring enough to them to lead men into action. Words which influence behavior must have a kind of corporeality; a skeleton has a human shape, but it takes a man to lead a parade.

In this volume the term *religious education* will refer to the education which relates to or attempts to understand whatever is believed to be the vital, supreme reality in the universe. Other terms like *Christian education, Jewish education, Catholic education, denominational education, sectarian education* will refer to the educational efforts of the traditional religious institutions.

The need for religious education

The profound potentialities of religious education will be quickly recognized when it is seen that education in religion is an education in values, in fundamental points of view, in ways of looking at life and society and the universe. If religious education is conceived in this manner then we see immediately that it is much bigger than what goes on in those classes which we now think of as specifically religious, much bigger than any program of formalized religious instruction; for it becomes that enormously significant process which gives individuals and groups their standards, their frames of reference. Any activity which helps an individual to shape his idea of the universe and of the demands which the universe makes on him is religious education. So conceived, religious education does take place; persons do choose their values. But the question is whether these choices are the illiterate selections of persons who have never had an opportunity to know the best that men have thought and said about human values and destiny.

Religious education is important, not because it is needed to make men religious—they are incurably so—but in order that they may have a superior religion, in order that they may not fall into the hands of superstition and magic, or of demagogues from the left or the right, but may benefit by

the long experience of the human race. In any aspect of culture if men start out *de novo,* ignoring the heritage of the past, behavior will result which is unenlightened, uncritical, inconsistent, and which leaves out of account many important elements. No wise person would employ a physician who was unacquainted with the best that human experience has produced in its long search after the causes of disease. The violinist whose only means of instruction is listening to Kreisler over the radio will lead the neighbors to agree with Plato that "bad music is the worst of all evils." The high jumper who stays away from the coach and practices in the back yard will never clear five feet.

But in the field of religion it is a popular American superstition that all one needs to do to get an adequate education is to go out in the woods, commune with nature, make friends with the birds, and the bees, and the flowers that bloom in the spring. It is no wonder that a great deal of American religion is like the sea captain of whom Ed Wynn speaks, he was a self-made man, a "horrible example of unskilled labor." Without religious education we can expect all sorts of magic, theosophy, and astrology to get hold of people. If the American boy is to achieve a high religion, he must stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before and make the most of their great discoveries—and of their mistakes. No building can be more stable than its foundation; no life—individual or communal—can be superior to its religion.

Yet there are many groups of people in this country who feel that religious education is one of the less important aspects of our culture, groups who are quite willing to let religious education be among the last of society's concerns. Unfortunately, many of our professional educators can be listed among them. The reasons for this situation are many. As has been pointed out, attitudes of unfriendliness to religious education frequently stem from opposition to the traditional religions; many persons have been the victims of what they con-

sider to be a low type of religious education, and thus they have become soured on all religious education. Such attitudes also come from a narrow definition of religion. A great deal of the willingness of educators to by-pass religious education comes also from the fact that, because of the haphazard American arrangements for religious education, they have never received any systematic instruction in religion and thus fail to see its inherent values, like persons who prefer jazz because they have never had an opportunity to acquire the taste for the symphony. We all of us tend to say of our education, whether at Siwash or at the school of hard knocks, "It made me what I am; it must have been pretty good."

Religious education is essential to religious maturity, to high religion, and thus to high living, both individual and social. This proposition is so basic to the argument of this book that several pages will be devoted to expounding it, first in its social and then in its personal phases.

The social effects of religious education

A nation's religion is the product of national experience, of the real national education, whether that education is planned or haphazard. Our society will consider religious education of fundamental importance when educators come to think of religious education as the process, wherever it is conducted, of helping society to decide what is the chief end of communal living.

This broad conception of religious education can best be understood on the background of some illustrations. Prior to the American Revolution the loyalty of the citizens of the thirteen colonies was directed toward the then constituted governments. All the forces of religious education—not all of them recognized as *religious* forces—were directed to the end of bringing people to the conviction that their loyalty must be given to the colonial governments and to the king of England. Churches, homes, schools, and the intangible forces of

public opinion, all conspired to bring youth to the faith that it was the will of God (or the fundamental nature of things) that an American must be loyal to the mother country and to the specific colony in which he lived. But with the formation of the United States the problem arose as to how a new kind of loyalty could be developed, a loyalty to the government of all thirteen of the colonies. It was a problem in *religious* education; for the kind of loyalty which was needed was of a fundamental kind, one which would bring the individual citizen to the place where he considered that the welfare of the nation was one of his ultimate concerns, a concern to which he would give the last full measure of devotion.

There was a time when the religion of most men contained an item to the effect that slavery is a part of the eternal order of nature. The commonly accepted view of man was that some races were created to serve other races. It was through processes of successful religious education that another view of man became dominant in many sections of the world.

The tragic results of the failure of nations to take religious education seriously and to be clever in its conduct can be seen all about us. The Germans had plenty of the traditional kind of religious education; but the actual forces which decided what ends the German youth would follow pointed toward the Hitlerian phantom—it was pursued with religious passion. It is commonplace to say today that Communism is a religion; where but from the depths of religious conviction came the magnificent morale of the Russian armies? Those who, because of military victory, have yielded to the temptation to become socially complacent would do well to examine the Sinarquist party of Mexico, and to stifle any desire to smile at the possible threat of this party to the United States by remembering that the answer of the German Republicans to the early threat of the Nazi was a shrug of contempt. *Sinarquismo* is the Mexican Fascism; it was founded in 1937. Its leadership comes from the extreme right, and, claiming the utmost patriotic and re-

ligious fervor, it makes its appeal to the humblest Mexican peasants. Sinarquismo (from the Greek, meaning "with order") now numbers its membership in hundreds of thousands, including tens of thousands in our own California; and it is growing rapidly. Its use of religion is conscious and sinister. Sinarquismo is represented as the torchbearer of "a new Christian order." The slogan to which it marches is "Faith and Country! Long Live Christ the King!" The official government newspaper, *El Nacional,* said concerning this exploitation of religion, "It is evident that the use of religious beliefs for the purpose of power politics and agitation is an abuse of the innocence and good faith of the believers, a prostitution of the true religious spirit, and a deliberate outrage against the most backward classes of the nation." The Ku Klux Klan also, in its post-World-War-I phase, made deliberate use of religion. Its major appeal was to the Protestant proletariat, and its chief hates were the Jews and the Catholics. When the forces in the United States which are Fascist in their intent become organized into a unified party—an event which is almost certain to take place—that party will of course follow the example of its parents and make use of religious motivations.

Harold Laski has written, in his *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time,* on the importance of religion in social change:[4] "A democratic society is as much a matter of the spiritual interrelations of its members as of the forms through which it is ruled. . . . A democratic system is only likely to endure so long as men feel that they have the great ends of life in common, that the values they seek to realize are the same values. . . . They are wholly right, I believe, who urge that without a revolution of faith there can be no restoration of confidence in the values we seek to establish."

When the problem of religious education is thought of as

[4]Harold Laski, *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time,* Viking Press, New York, 1943.

the problem of shaping the fundamental values, the fundamental allegiances of a people, it becomes the most important problem of national welfare. The problem of defending our nation by armies and navies is less serious than that of providing adequate means whereby the American people can work out their religious orientation, their fundamental values. If we succeed in preserving democracy, it will be because we conduct an arduous and successful program of *religious* education.

The need of the individual for religious education

C. E. M. Joad, famous British teacher, in his *Philosophy for Our Times,*[5] deplores the fact that "there has grown to maturity a generation which is to all intents and purposes without religious belief. To say that, as a result, life has for it no point and the universe no purpose would be true, but it would not be the important truth. More important is the fact that, to the present generation, it is a matter of no interest whether life has a point, the universe a purpose, or not. It does not care and, therefore, it does not inquire. . . . 'Oh, Hell!' say the young, 'Everything is frightful, let's go and have a drink somewhere and then dance.' "

This somewhat exaggerated picture contains so much of truth that we should turn to a consideration of the benefits for individuals which high religion has over low religion, and ponder the desiderata which can be supplied to men by a consistent and mature religion.

1. Mature religion can give perspective, direction, unity to life. Charles Beard complains of the sort of scholarship which makes of history "a string of episodes on the level of village gossip or metropolitan society news." Much of the living and thinking of our contemporaries is like that; it is atomistic, opportunistic, with no unifying principles, and is expressed in the philosophy of the farmer who "grows more corn, to

[5]C. E. M. Joad, *Philosophy for Our Times,* Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., Edinburgh, Scotland, 1940.

raise more hogs, to buy more land, to grow more corn." Yet a conscious direction in life, a sense of being on the road to somewhere instead of just being on the road, an ability to judge the passing moment in terms of an abiding reality—these are essential to the highest living.

Now religion is the unifying movement of life, the effort to achieve as much organization in existence as one's experience, reason, and faith will allow. To the extent that a person has found what he believes to be the will of God for his life —or, if the reader prefers, the law of the universe—to that extent has he found direction, purpose, salvation. Shaw, in the preface to *Man and Superman,* writes:[6] "This is the true joy in life, the being used for a purpose recognized by yourself as a mighty one; the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrap heap; the being a force of nature instead of a feverish selfish little clod of ailments and grievances complaining that the world will not devote itself to making you happy." The conviction that one is a "force of nature" working *with* the realities of the universe, however those realities may be conceived, rather than working *against* them is an essential to satisfying living. Men are like ships. Some pleasure craft flit about the surface of the ocean going nowhere in particular. Other ships, carrying the commerce of the world, sail toward definite goals.

"High religion judges the living which is inwardly opportunistic to be empty and worthless, worse, as ignominious slavery. For it involves constant adaptation of the self to external controls, compromises, capitulations, panderings, moral weakness, indecisiveness. It is as if such a one were on the stage, an actor with no lines of his own, waiting to be made the puppet of anyone who will play ventriloquist."[7]

The religious goals are those ultimate life aims which lend

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[6]George Bernard Shaw, *Man and Superman,* Dodd Mead, New York, 1939.

[7]T. Barton Akeley, *Amherst Papers,* unpublished.

significance to the teeming gaieties and sorrows of our workaday world. These goals give us perspective and furnish the criteria by means of which we can sift the essential from the non-essential. The increasing complexity of our culture means that each of us needs his own ideals for living molded into a pair of spectacles which correct his vision and through which he views each advancing opportunity. Far more possibilities present themselves to us moderns than we can ever accept; we gain a right view of the present opportunity if we look at it in the light of our inclusive goal. "How shall I spend my time?" is simply lower case for "How shall I spend my life?"

2. A mature religion can furnish a worthy standard by which one can judge his own significance and the significance of the time in which he lives.

Most men sing with variations Little Jack Horner's song, "See what a big boy am I." Most philosophies of life assume that the "world is a wheel and I am the hub." But to those who have the divine knowledge that they speak but a word in the celestial drama is given the perspective to view their own importance with a saving humor. Our haphazardness in religious education has developed a kind of philosophy which allows the average boy to hope that he "might someday be President of the United States" but which leaves him unprepared to meet defeat. Yet what is more certain in the present status of the world than that the destruction of many hopes is inevitable, and that multitudes of youths will never achieve the kind of success of which their fathers dreamed? A mature religion must take defeat into account; it can help one rise above defeat.

High religion can also furnish a man with a criterion by which to judge the worth of his contemporaries. As a society we take far too seriously the greatness of great men and too casually the worth of average men. "The successful man's neighbors admire the whole man instead of merely the particular acts and qualities that bring him into notice. Thus it

is that practically any successful man is overestimated by both himself and his contemporaries," writes Professor George A. Coe in *The Motives of Men.*[8] A mature religion can furnish an adequate standard by which to judge individual men.

Mature religion can furnish also a criterion by which we can judge our time; it can supply a social ideal. A worthy social standard, when applied to our society, will discover not merely the many social evils and injustices of our day but also the many incongruities and absurdities in our corporate life. A study of the superficial aspects of other cultures is frequently an amusing experience; photographs of the clothing of the eighteen nineties will almost invariably evoke broad smiles. But perhaps three centuries from now people will think of our time as the day when men thought that their formal education should cease for all practical purposes with commencement, when crops were plowed under, when it was thought that political democracy could endure in the midst of industrial, educational, domestic monarchy, when some of the most capable vocalists sang with all their might over the radio to the glory of someone's soap, when billboards shouted through every window, when men walked about with small chimneys sticking out from between their teeth and with a cultivated halitosis.

One product of the thing I am calling high religion is the ability to see one's self and one's time in the light of a larger whole.

3. Religion can furnish the motive for struggle. Of the many motives which impel men none is stronger than that which leads them to say, "I do the will of God." Nor does any motive bring men to more sustained effort. As Professor F. Ernest Johnson has written, "The real battles of life are fought in the lowlands, not on Alpine peaks." Most of us can start out on grandiose schemes, but the power to keep

[8]George A. Coe, *The Motives of Men,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928, p. 116.

working after we have broken far enough into a task to realize how little of our dreams can be accomplished is given to the man who has a faith that he is traveling in the direction of that "far-off divine event."

This truth is nowhere more clearly seen than in the field of morals. The boy whose grasp of his code is no firmer than that "honesty is the best policy" will be dishonest when he thinks he will not get caught. The student whose integrity in examinations is predicated on the thesis "I owe it to myself to do good work" will cheat if he thinks it will pay him to cheat. The man who believes that ethical codes are purely relative, that every sin has been approved under some circumstances, will find it easy to avoid ethical conflicts with unscrupulous and hard-hitting superiors. Ethical conviction, the power to see it through, is not the possession of men who base their code on such propositions as "A gentleman would not do that"; rather it is the possession of men who believe that their moral code is fixed in the eternal scheme of things and is not to be cast aside merely because promise of freedom from punishment is vouchsafed. In his Farewell Address George Washington declared, "Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

It is the fashion of our time to point to the Inquisition, the Salem witch burnings, the murders of Huss and Servetus, and to say: "Behold these wicked deeds. They were perpetrated by men who thought they did the will of God. How foolish and how tragic it is for mortals to become convinced that they have a special means of discovering the ultimate secrets; such fancies make them arrogant, intolerant heresy hunters. Let men not seek final authority for ideas which are in reality their own, and thus we will avoid much suffering and injustice."

No student of history could fail to admit that religious insight has frequently resulted in offering heretics the choice between faith and fagots. Yet such conduct, common as it has been in the past, is an abuse of the religious insight and not an essential characteristic of it. History is full of men and women who were unwilling to persecute others for their unbelief but who themselves were willing to die for their religion —David Livingstone, Father Damien, Savonarola, Socrates, Polycarp, Jesus.

It is time that some of our philosophers stopped asserting that all morals, all ideals are relative; this statement is but half true. The other half is that if a man holds nothing absolute for himself, the nerve of his effort is cut, he lives on the intellectual and spiritual sands. The man who believes he is doing the will of God has an energy, a potency in struggle which is denied those not so blessed. Further, the man who feels he cannot know the will of God but who nevertheless has principles which are final *for him,* the unchanging basis of *his* behavior, has resources which give him strength to carry on.

Men are not in agreement on the question of how far man has been able to penetrate the secrets of the universe. One group believes that the essential truths of the universe have been placed by God before man in a special revelation. Another group believes that finite human reason is the only instrument men can use in searching the infinite heavens. Both these groups must face the dangers inherent in their positions. Those who believe in revelation must restrain themselves from the temptation to force others to accept the revelation—the proper line of action for them is to do missionary work, to attempt to persuade. Those who believe that no certain knowledge of the infinite is possible for men must realize that flabby, uncertain existences result from the espousal of the faith that all principles are relative and that ultimate reality is in constant flux. A person who belongs with this latter group can

base his living on the most fundamental principles he has been able to discover, and he can proceed as though these principles are ultimate; they are for him.

We have in this country a "perennial carnival of crime." Before the war half a million persons were sentenced to jail or prison each year in the United States; nearly two million crimes were reported by the police. Annually two hundred thousand juveniles passed through our courts and two hundred thousand babies were born out of wedlock. The war is increasing such antisocial behavior. Lesser offenses also characterize the conduct of many citizens. Sharp business practice, dishonest advertising, graft, the selling of imperfect goods, soldiering on the job, accepting support without productive labor—these acts are not commonly thought of as crimes, and yet they menace the welfare of society. It is not too much to hope that a more vigorous program of religious education would have a salutary effect on such behavior.

It is frequently contended today that the criminal is the product of forces over which he has no control, that crime is the result of environmental influences, and that the proper way to attack the problem of crime is to reshape the society from which the criminal comes. Surely few would question the cogency of this position; environmental factors do, of course, play the major role in antisocial conduct. And yet much current thinking neglects the other side of the picture. No one but a pure determinist would assert that crime results solely from environmental causes. All those who believe that man has a measure of free will must look with favor on the attempt to reach the central motives of men. What can more effectively bring man to a desire to do the right than the development of the conviction that immoral conduct is contrary to the will of God—or to the laws of nature—as well as contrary to man-established mores?

If religious education proved effective in bringing multitudes of men and women to accept a high religion, society

could be brought to accept a higher standard of conduct. The present code leads children to realize in their early adolescence that while lip service is given to ideal modes of action, actually the practical affairs of everyday living demand that we be realistic and not too squeamish. "Men have their bread and butter to earn." "If men are thoroughly honest, they will have the respect of their fellows but the more tangible rewards will go elsewhere." "Don't be a sucker!" Such are the common attitudes. That we need a higher standard of business and professional integrity in this country, few will deny. A general acceptance of some type of high religion is a necessary element in the achievement of this better standard.

4. Religious education can teach men a method for attaining emotional security and integration by communing with their ideals. High principles do not flourish automatically; they must be nurtured. No man, after making a conscious effort to choose the best way of life, can live out his ideals with confidence and poise unless he comes recurrently into their presence. Failing this, his principles will be forgotten and he will be the victim of passing pressures. "There may be persons who are naturally endowed with a temperament or training which keeps them facing the great and grave and lasting thoughts which actually build up a man's inner reserve for decision, responsibility, and joy. But most of us have to do scales if we are to play, to practice before we perform, review before we lecture, consult a map before we travel, pull ourselves together before we risk an ordeal, pray before temptation."[9]

If men are to follow an ideal, they must recurrently call it to mind, glorify it, live in its light, acknowledge failure, rededicate themselves to it. This process may be nothing more than meditation during an unplanned and perhaps inadvertent period of quiet. How often have worried, harassed executives found, after a period of enforced inactivity—a long drive alone

[9]Akeley, *op. cit.*

or a brief but not too serious illness—that they have achieved a new calmness, a new poise, a new strength?

Now one form of the recall of the ideal is what those who follow the traditional religions call worship. One worships when he feels that he comes into communion with what he considers to be ultimate in the universe, when he seeks to check his own accomplishment against what he believes to be the will of God for his life. If a bar of steel is brought into the field of a powerful magnet, the molecules of steel will arrange themselves in patterns which correspond to the lines of force in the magnet. If the bar is taken away from the magnet the molecules will, after a time, become disarranged; or if the bar is given a sharp blow the pattern will be destroyed immediately. The pattern can be restored by bringing the bar back into the field of the magnet. Thus it is with the ideals of men. Religion can teach men how to gain strength from the periodic communion with that which their faith decrees to be central for all existence. This central truth is variously conceived; yet the process of strength gaining is the same. The Christian who strives to live after the example of Jesus Christ must attend the Mass or the Sunday morning service if his vision is to be renewed and his purpose strengthened. The scientist who believes that the universe demands thought and action on the basis of the scientific method must recurrently meditate on what that method demands of him in the laboratory, else he will continually find himself at loggerheads with the method.

Professor Coe has listed seven ways in which worship can promote the growth of personality.

1. It can supplant fear, worry, and wearing haste with calm self-possession.

2. By reminding us of central points of view it can promote mental perspective, making great things look great, and small things small.

3. It can include such a facing of our faults as leads to repentance and amendment of conduct.

4. It can intensify our devotion to a cause, and prevent hardships from taking on exaggerated importance.

5. It can save our goodness from overstrenuousness, overassertiveness, and angularity by making us realize how small we are and how great God is.

6. It can humanize us by fellowship with other worshipers, even those whose worship is much unlike our own, and it can unite a group in support of a cause.

7. It can include a repeated or even a continuous weighing of issues and results, together with sensitiveness to new needs that arise in a changing world.[10]

Many persons fail to receive these benefits from religion, either because their religion is in itself so inconsistent and unstable that religious security is denied them, or else because they have never been taught how to commune with their ideals, how to worship. High religion, which can come only from superior religious education, can teach men this invaluable technique.

We live in a time when the very mold of culture is being recast, when society is moving from one type of structure to another. This is not a safe day; but it is a day when human destinies are congealing. If boys and girls are to have the first essential for living joyously amid the uncertainties of our time, they must have fast hold of a conviction of what the real meaning of life is. Is life a farce, a series of adventures which are silly and meaningless? Is life a tragedy, a series of catastrophes at which men must look through rose-colored glasses if they are to find happiness? Is life the prologue to a blessed immortality? Is life a puppet show in which unconscious forces pull the strings? Is life a play with a happy ending in which one acts under the eye of an all-wise, all-good director? These questions strike at the roots of living. How essential it is that boys and girls in our epoch-making and uncertain times shall both live their own lives and do

[10]George Albert Coe, *What Is Christian Education?* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1929, p. 122.

their part in the creation of a new social order, in the light of a mature philosophy of life, a philosophy which they have tested and found satisfying, and which furnishes them with standards which are clear and worthy of reverence!

In the pages which follow we shall first review, very briefly, the history of traditional religious education in the United States, in order to correct some common misconceptions concerning the nature of the process which brought about the present organization of religious education. Then the present status of traditional instruction, both in this country and abroad, will be outlined. Some of the essentials of effective method in teaching religion will then be discussed. Professional educators who read this book may find that these chapters deal with material which is familiar, and thus may wish to turn directly to Chapter VI, which considers the various possible solutions of the problem of providing effective religious education.

CHAPTER II

Some Important Factors in the History of Traditional Religious Education in America

MANY well-informed persons misunderstand the nature of the process by which the people of the United States arrived at their present convictions and practice concerning traditional religious education. The idea is widespread that from the beginning of our national history no religion was taught in the public schools. But as a matter of fact the secular public school is hardly a hundred years old. The story begins in Europe long before the settling of this country.

The medieval educational system, like all institutions in that era, was dominated by the church. A major function of the schools was to prepare for careers in the church, and thus religious education was an essential aspect of the curriculum. During the Middle Ages there was no urge on the part of the church to teach the average man to read and to write, for it was thought that the chief benefits of religion could be secured without these skills. At that time Christian worship everywhere took the form of a religious drama which was conducted by trained priests and choristers; the reading by the congregation of passages of scripture and of hymns was not customary worship usage. The reading of the Bible was not considered to be an act essential to piety; indeed, its reading on the part of those uninstructed in its interpretation was believed to lead to heresy and thus was discouraged.

The common school received its first great impetus from the Protestant Reformation; the Reformation made the reading of the Bible an essential aspect of the religious life. The invention of printing greatly reduced the cost of books and made the possession of Bibles a possibility for the average family. After the Reformation common schools were established in Germany, the United Netherlands, France, England, Scotland. The story of their formation is complex and need not be outlined here. The point that concerns us is that all schools in this era taught religion, no matter whether they were under Catholic, Protestant, private, or semiprivate auspices.

Religious education in the American colonies

Early American institutions can be understood only when it is realized that they were for the most part the frontier variations of Old World arrangements. Practically all of the early colonists brought from Europe profound religious interests and convictions, many of them coming to America for religious reasons. At the time of the American Revolution ten of the colonies had state churches: the Anglican faith had been declared the established religion in seven of the colonies, and the Congregational faith the established religion in three. The Anglican Church was disestablished very early in our national life, but Connecticut did not give up supporting the Congregational churches by taxation until 1818 and Massachusetts not until 1833.

Most of the colonial communities were small homogeneous groups, all of whose members spoke the same language and shared the same religious beliefs. In New England the colonists were Protestants; they felt, as did their contemporaries in Europe, that a knowledge of the Bible was essential to salvation, and they also felt the need for schools in order to insure a trained ministry for the church. Thus not only were the earliest American schools controlled by the church and

dominated by the religious motive, but the right of the church to determine the curriculum of the schools was clearly recognized by the state. The famous Massachusetts Law of 1647 illustrates in its preamble the religious purpose of colonial education. The preamble reads in part: "It being one chief project of ye old deluder, Satan, to keep men from ye knowledge of ye Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues; . . . that learning may not be buried in ye grave of our fathers" it was ordered that each community of fifty householders establish a school.

The famous *New England Primer,* which for over a century was the first reading textbook in the schools, was also a textbook in religion; it was full of selections from the Bible, of moral maxims, of selections from the Westminster Catechism, and of prayers. Among the latter was the familiar "Now I lay me down to sleep." One of the poems read as follows:

The praises of my tongue
I offer to the Lord,
That I was taught and learnt so young
To read his holy word.

That I was brought to know
The danger I was in,
By nature and by practice too
A wretched slave to sin.

That I was led to see
I can do nothing well;
And whither shall a sinner flee
To save himself from hell?

It has been estimated that three million copies of the *New England Primer* were sold. The book was in the possession of most New England families, and its influence was very great. Since a major purpose of teaching a child to read was to

make it possible for him to utilize books of devotion, it was but natural that after he had mastered his primer his next reading book was the Bible.

Much of what has been said concerning religious education in New England applies to the other sections of the colonies. The religious motivation of the educational ventures in Pennsylvania was very strong. There, except for a few schools under private auspices, the parochial system obtained. While most of the settlers were Protestants, they were of many different sects. Local communities, however, were largely homogeneous, and thus the parochial scheme was a natural solution of the educational problem. Clergymen were usually the teachers of the schools and were, of course, at pains to teach religion. The parochial system obtained also in Catholic Maryland.

In New Jersey, New York, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, Georgia, and the Carolinas schooling usually was limited to the upper classes. The lower classes in these colonies were apprenticed to masters whose neglect of the education of their charges was notorious. However, during the latter part of the colonial period regulations were passed which required the masters to teach their apprentices to read and to write. Some laudable efforts were made to teach the children of the poorer members of the Anglican Church by means of charity schools. An English missionary organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, acted as an auxiliary of the Church of England in the effort "to train children in the tenets and worship of the Church, through the direct agency of schools." The work of the society was especially noteworthy in New York, though it maintained schools in other colonies. "Its schoolmasters were well selected and sound in the faith, and the children were taught reading, writing, a little arithmetic, the catechism, and the religious observances of the English National Church."[1]

[1]E. P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1919, p. 43.

The secularization of American education

This brief outline of the educational situation in the American colonies makes clear that all through colonial times "religious education" and "education" were almost synonymous terms. Yet by 1870, after about a century of national life, the American people had established a system of free public schools, and had come to the conviction that instruction in religion must not be a part of the curriculum. This secular development was not sudden; it was in fact very gradual. It came about as a part of the effort to provide an education which would fit the citizens of the new democracy with the training essential to mature citizenship; the gradual growth of the educational system and its gradual secularization occurred together. This development will now be traced.

During the fifty years which followed the American Revolution, the schools were probably in a worse condition than they had been in colonial times. Educational activities had been practically stopped by the war, and they were resumed with difficulty. The uncertainties of the period of the Articles of Confederation, the economic and political strain during the Napoleonic Wars, and the effort necessary to the development of the rapidly expanding frontier made it difficult to provide for education even on the colonial scale. The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts withdrew its support from American schools after the Revolution, and thus one major educational force was lost in the sections where the Anglican Church was dominant. Professor Merle Curti declares that in Massachusetts, which at this time was more advanced educationally than any other section, "in 1826 barely a third of the children of suitable age had opportunity to attend public school, and actually did attend for some portion of the year . . . instructors often were unable to do simple sums in multiplication and division, and in 1837 some three hundred teachers were driven out of their

schools by unruly and riotous pupils."[2] In 1837 a third of the school districts in Massachusetts did not even have schoolhouses. Barnard, famous educational pioneer in Connecticut, estimated in 1837 that more was spent in that state on the education of the most privileged ten thousand children than on the education of the remaining sixty or seventy thousand children. "Only one-half of the school children of New England were given free education in 1840, one-seventh of those in the Middle States, and one-sixth of those in the West."[3] Massachusetts in 1827 passed the first law which opened the public schools to all children free of tuition charges. But in Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois public schools became free of all tuition only in 1852, 1853, and 1855.

The lack of effective educational interest in the early years of our national history is reflected in the fact that the Constitution of the United States nowhere makes mention of education; indeed, the record of the debates of the Constitutional Convention shows that the subject of education was brought before that body but once. Yet the rulers of the country in this period were not utterly indifferent to education, or to religious education, as is shown by the famous Ordinance of 1787, which established a government in the territory north of the Ohio River; a section of the Ordinance reads, "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged" in the territories formed by this Act. When Connecticut sold its western lands in 1795 the sum which was realized was set aside for the aid of "schools and the gospel." When the national government sold land in Ohio in 1787 and 1788 one section in each township was set aside as an endowment for the schools and another was reserved "for purposes of re-

[2]Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1935, p. 107.

[3]*Ibid.,* p. 28.

ligion." During the first fifty years of the nineteenth century there were many grants of public funds to denominational schools.[4] The idea of taking religion out of education or of having a system of secular public schools would have seemed very strange indeed to the American citizen of 1815.

The prominent position held by religion in other phases of our early national life is clearly seen when one examines the state constitutions framed during this period; they frequently set up religious tests for voters and officeholders. Pennsylvania and South Carolina made belief in God and in hell and heaven a prerequisite to voting. Delaware insisted that voters must believe in the Trinity and in the inspiration of the Scriptures. North Carolina and Georgia required all voters to be Protestants. No one but a Christian might hold the office of governor in Massachusetts and Maryland; and in New Hampshire, New Jersey, North and South Carolina no one but a Protestant might be governor.[5]

Four facts about the religious history of the early nineteenth century furnish a background for an understanding of how the secular school developed. The first fact is that there occurred in this period a revival of interest in Protestant Christianity. The Great Awakening which had begun under Jonathan Edwards in 1733, and which was coterminous with the Wesleyan Revival in England, had not endured. During and after the Revolution the religious forces in the country were weak indeed. The closing years of the eighteenth century show the lowest level ever reached in the history of

[4]See Richard James Gabel, *Public Funds for Church and Private Schools,* Catholic University of America, Washington, 1937.

[5]Charles A. Beard, *American Government and Politics,* Macmillan, New York, 1927, p. 460. On page 464 Beard writes: "In only a few state constitutions are there to be found remnants of ancient theological controversies. Arkansas, Mississippi, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee still require belief in God as a qualification for office. Two states, Tennessee and Pennsylvania, also require belief in a future state of rewards and punishments."

traditional American religion. At Princeton College in 1782 there were but two students who were professing Christians. "It was at this time that Bishop Provoost [Episcopal] of New York laid down his functions, not expecting the church to continue much longer; and Bishop Madison of Virginia shared the despairing conviction of Chief Justice Marshall that the church was too far gone ever to be revived."[6] Many of the leaders of the nation were either nonchurch members, as were Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, or they were latitudinarian in their religious views. "Washington was a vestryman in the Episcopal Church but never communed, and Adams though a member of the Congregational Church was, as a matter of fact, a deist and a humanist."[7]

At about the beginning of the century, however, the churches began to show new vigor, successful revival meetings were held, and the foundations of a more active church life were laid. During the first half of the nineteenth century, church membership increased tenfold. It was during this time also that the foreign missionary movement began, the church seriously began to promote Sunday Schools, the founding of Protestant theological seminaries was undertaken, and the camp-meeting movement got under way.

A second important item in the religious history of this time is the multiplication of sects. In the absence of vigorous unifying agencies human beings usually organize many competing groups in those interests about which they care as much as they do about religion. The early, religiously homogeneous communities were broken up under the impacts of European immigration and of the beckoning commercial opportunities which were everywhere present through the nation. Thus the opportunity for the formation of sects was

[6]L. W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity,* The Christian Literature Company, New York, 1897, p. 232.

[7]William Warren Sweet, "Our Educational Dilemma," *International Journal of Religious Education,* November, 1940, p. 7.

abundantly present. How adequately this opportunity was utilized can be clearly seen in the case of Massachusetts. In this state in 1800 the church census was as follows:

Sect	*Number of Churches*
Congregationalists	344
Baptists	93
Methodists	29
Episcopalians	14
Quakers	8
Universalists	4
Presbyterians	2
Roman Catholics	1[8]

By 1858, however, the church census of Massachusetts was as follows:

Sect	*Number of Churches*
Orthodox Congregationalists	490
Episcopal Methodists	277
Baptists	266
Unitarians	170
Universalists	135
Episcopalians	65
Roman Catholics	64
Christians	37
Friends Meetings	24
Free-will Baptists	21
Protestant or Independent Methodists	20
Second Adventists	15
Wesleyan Methodists	13
Swedenborgians	11
Presbyterians	7
Shakers	4
Unclassified	12[9]

[8] Joseph S. Clark, *A Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts from 1620 to 1858*, pp. 7–10. Quoted by Raymond B. Culver, *Horace Mann and Religion in the Massachusetts Public Schools*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1929, p. 7.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

It is instructive to note the present religious census of Massachusetts. The following data were taken from the United States Census of *Religious Bodies for 1936*, pp. 224 to 227:

Sect	*Number of Churches*
Roman Catholic	708
Congregational	557
Methodist Episcopal	294
Northern Baptist	272
Protestant Episcopal	264
Jewish	186
Unitarian	140
Christian Science	79
Universalist	70
Federated	52
Salvation Army	46
Negro Baptists	39
Lutheran Augustana Synod	36
Seventh-day Adventists	33
Advent Christian	28
Greek Orthodox	25
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	24
Nazarene	23
Scandinavian Evangelical	22
Lutheran Missouri Synod	19
African Methodist	17
Assemblies of God	17
Plymouth Brethren II	16
Friends	14
National Spiritualist Association	13
New Jerusalem	12
Primitive Methodist	11
Independent	10
Christadelphians	10
Albanian Orthodox	9
Latter Day Saints (Reorganized)	9
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	9
Polish National Catholic	9
United Presbyterian	8
Finnish Evangelical Lutheran	8
Christian and Missionary Alliance	7

Sect	*Number of Churches*
Church of Armenia	7
Russian Orthodox	7
Evangelical	7
United Lutheran	6
Church of God	5
Church of God and Saints of Christ	5
Disciples of Christ	5
Syrian Antiochian Orthodox	5
Latter Day Saints	5
National Spiritualist Alliance	5
Bahais	4
Church of God in Christ	4
Volunteers of America	4
Plymouth Brethren I	3
Plymouth Brethren IV	3
Finnish Evangelical National Lutheran	3
Free Methodist	3
North American Old Roman Catholic	3
International Pentecostal	3
United Holy Church	3
All other denominations	40

A third important fact in the religious history of the first half of the nineteenth century is the rapid growth of the Catholic Church. At the beginning of the century the number of Catholics in the country was very small, but in the next fifty years Catholicism grew to be a large religious body. The chief factor in this growth was immigration. During the Napoleonic Wars European nations, needing all available manpower, made emigration difficult. In the hard times which succeeded these wars, however, these nations were anxious to send their poor to America and thus immigration grew rapidly. Many of the immigrants were Catholics. The Irish famine, which began in 1846, drove so many Catholics to this country that in a single decade the Catholic population here was doubled. A Catholic source estimates the growth in the number of Catholics in the United States as follows:

CATHOLIC POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1790–1930

Year	*U.S. White*	*Catholic*
1790	3,172,006	35,000
1820	7,866,797	195,000
1830	10,537,378	318,000
1840	14,195,805	663,000
1850	19,553,068	1,606,000
1860	26,922,537	3,103,000
1870	35,589,377	4,504,000
1880	43,402,970	6,259,000
1890	55,101,258	8,909,000
1900	66,809,196	12,041,000
1910	81,731,957	16,363,000
1920	94,820,915	19,828,000
1930	108,864,207	20,203,702[10]

A fourth important fact in the religious history of this time was the growth of violent anti-Catholic prejudice. This prejudice, growing in vigor with the size of the Catholic immigration, reached such proportions that it became a political force, and in the 'fifties as Know-Nothingism it "seemed destined to endure as a permanent addition to the parties of the United States."[11] It is difficult for those who are unacquainted with the "violent sensationalism and frank pornography"[12] of the literature of nativism to realize the hatred which was aroused in many untutored American minds against Catholics. The *Awful Disclosures of the Hôtel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* by Maria Monk, published in 1836, a volume which had a wide sale, told a tale of immorality which, though it was disproved, was widely believed. So fanatical became the prejudice that a multitude of people believed the Pope was plotting to secure control of the Mississippi Valley. "They could not understand why he should retain his Vatican in outworn Italy

[10] J. A. Burns and B. J. Kohlbrenner, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States,* Benziger Brothers, New York, 1937, p. 99.

[11] Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860,* Macmillan, New York, 1938, p. 380.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 142.

when the bountiful lands of the west could be his with proper manipulation. . . . The Mississippi Valley, they believed, was to be the scene of the death struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism."[13]

The Protestant revival, the growth of sects, the growth of Catholicism, and the rise of anti-Catholic prejudice all testify to the increasing concern of the American people for religion; as will be shown later, it was this concern which played the vital role in the secularization of the developing school system.

We have seen how poor were the schools during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Beginning in about 1820, however, the political development of the nation began to have a profound influence in the direction of better education (always conceived at this time as including religious education). The giving of the ballot to all adult males resulted in a new urge for education; indeed, the argument most frequently advanced for establishing free public schools was the necessity for educating the nation's voters.

Universal manhood suffrage was not achieved until well along in our national life. In colonial times some sort of property qualification for suffrage was general. It has been estimated that before the Revolution the number of persons legally qualified to vote varied in the colonies from one-sixth to one-fifteenth of the population. Nor did the founders of the young nation have confidence in the wisdom of the common people; they feared the majority. Charles and Mary Beard in *The Rise of American Civilization* have stated that among the framers of the Constitution "almost unanimous was the opinion that democracy was a dangerous thing, to be restrained, not encouraged."[14] The early state constitutions drastically limited the number of voters, and by 1800 but four states had granted universal manhood suffrage.

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[13]*Ibid.*, p. 119.

[14]Charles A. Beard and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization,* Macmillan, New York, 1930.

However, a strong movement for the placing of governmental control in the hands of the common people arose about 1815; it centered in the frontier sections, and it sought to abolish class rule and all political inequalities. It reached its culmination in the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency; by the middle of the century most of the states had granted suffrage to free men, although Massachusetts restricted voting until 1857 and Rhode Island until 1888.

Many of the nation's leaders recognized that if the populace was to have the vote, if the seat of authority in the nation was finally to rest with the common people, it would be necessary to have an enlightened public. The leading men of the time were eloquent in pleading for universal education, which would of course in their minds have included religious education. De Witt Clinton, Governor of New York, in a message to the state legislature, said, "The great bulwark of republican government is the cultivation of education; for the right of suffrage cannot be exercised in a salutary manner without intelligence." Daniel Webster declared, "Education to accomplish the ends of good government should be universally diffused. Open the doors of the schoolhouses to all the children of the land. Let no man have the excuse of poverty for not educating his offspring."

This increased understanding of the importance of education in a democracy resulted in the establishment of many schools. The increased interest in religion made the populace alert to the kind of religious teaching which was taking place in these schools. The increased sectarianism made the sects very suspicious of each other. These attitudes made religious teaching in publicly supported schools very difficult. The schools of Massachusetts and of New York City furnish excellent examples of the resulting development.

In Massachusetts the control of the public schools had been left to the local school districts. The religious faith of the majority of any community thus was taught in the

schools. This majority rule simply meant the religious coercion of the religious minority, for in that day the sects respected each other's rights even less than they do today. In view of the constantly growing heterogeneity of the local community this situation developed many conflicts. Consequently the Massachusetts school laws of 1826 and 1827, which established certain standards to govern the conduct of the schools, took a step in the direction of the control of religious teaching, providing that the school "committee shall never direct any school books to be purchased or used, in any of the schools under their superintendence which are calculated to favor any particular religious sect or tenet."[15] It would be a misinterpretation of this regulation to assume that it meant the abolition of religion from the schools. It tried merely to provide for a nonsectarian type of teaching. The law did not, however, accomplish the purpose for which it was intended. When in 1837 Horace Mann, famous first secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, made a survey of the Massachusetts schools, he found a great deal of what he called "doctrinal religion," that is, sectarian religious education. Mann did his best to make the religious teaching of the schools nonsectarian in character. In his *First Report* he called attention to the serious lack of textbooks on morality and religion; he said, "Among vast libraries of books, expository of the doctrines of revealed religion, none have been found free from that advocacy of particular 'tenets' or 'sects.' "[16] In a famous passage Mann condemned

> those who think that doctrinal religion should be taught in our schools; and who would empower each town or school district to determine the *kind* of doctrine to be taught. It is easy to see that the experiment would not stop with having half a dozen conflicting creeds taught by authority of law, in the different schools of the same town or vicinity. Majorities will change in

[15]Raymond B. Culver, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[16]*Ibid.*, p. 41.

the same place. One sect may have the ascendancy, today; another, tomorrow. This year, there will be three Persons in the Godhead; next year, but One; and the third year, the Trinity will be restored, to hold its precarious sovereignty, until it shall be again dethroned by the worms of the dust it has made. This year, the everlasting fires of hell will burn to terrify the impenitent; next year, and without any repentance, its eternal flames will be extinguished,—to be rekindled forever, or to be quenched forever, as it may be decided at annual town meetings. This year under Congregational rule, the Rev. Mr. So-and-So, and the Rev. Dr. So-and-So, will be on the committee; but next year, these Reverends and Reverend Doctors will be plain Misters,—never having had apostolical consecration from the Bishop. This year, the ordinance of baptism is inefficacious without immersion; next year one drop of water will be as good as forty fathoms.[17]

Mann, contrary to a widespread belief today, did not favor taking religion out of the public schools. In a private letter he wrote: "I am in favor of religious instruction in our schools, to the extremest verge to which it can be carried without invading those rights of conscience which are established by the laws of God, and guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the State."[18] He wrote of the consequences of the neglect of education in religion, saying: "Entirely to discard the inculcation of the great doctrines of morality and of natural theology has a vehement tendency to drive mankind into opposite extremes; to make them devotees on one side, or profligates on the other; each about equally regardless of the true constituents of human welfare. Against a tendency to these fatal extremes, the beautiful and sublime truths of ethics and of natural religion have a poising power."[19]

Mann's efforts to get sectarian instruction out of the school brought down on his head the wrath of the orthodox churchmen. The Congregational-Unitarian controversy was being prosecuted vigorously at this time in Massachusetts—and Mann

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 208–09.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 207.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

was a Unitarian. The orthodox suspected him of favoring Unitarian doctrines in the schools. For the first time in American history the cry was raised, "The schools are godless." The conflict reached its height in 1840 and 1841 in the efforts of some orthodox Congregational leaders to have the legislature abolish the State Board of Education. The Massachusetts public, however, both orthodox and Unitarian, had by this time come to believe thoroughly in the nonsectarian school, and thus the effort failed.

The solution which Mann worked out for the problem of how to put nonsectarian religious education into the schools was that a portion of the Bible should be read without comment in each public-school classroom every school day. This solution was adopted not only in Massachusetts but also in many other American states and has had a profound effect on the history of American religious education. Many people came to the conviction that reading the Bible would have significant educational results. This belief in the efficacy of spending a few minutes daily in reading the Bible grew up in a time when it was almost universally believed by Protestants that there was some kind of magic in the Bible to which one needed but to be exposed in order for it to have a very great influence on life. The Catholics have never believed any such fantastic idea, and it has been generally abandoned among Protestants, except in the most conservative quarters. And yet reading the Bible for a few minutes each day has been adopted in state after state as the *de facto* relationship between public education and religion. In Chapter V we shall consider what sort of arrangements in the schools would make reasonably sure that effective religious education is taking place.

The practice of reading the Bible without comment should not be considered nonsectarian. The Jewish Holy Scriptures do not contain what Christians call the New Testament; thus reading in the schools from this portion of the Christian Scrip-

tures is considered by Jews to be a sectarian practice, if Jewish children are required to attend sessions where the reading takes place. Further, the translation of the Bible which is used in the schools is commonly the King James version. Reading from this version is in itself a sectarian practice, since the Catholic Church does not approve of the King James version. The version of the Bible which Catholics generally use is a translation from the Latin Vulgate into English completed in Douay, France, in 1609. It differs in some essential respects from the King James version, and the Catholic Church feels that reading from the King James version is apt to lead to erroneous conceptions of religion and thus perhaps to heresy. Catholics, therefore, are required to read a Catholic translation and the Catholic Church opposes the reading of the Protestant Bible in schools where Catholics are in attendance.

The educational development in New York City was along somewhat different lines. There many of the first efforts to provide common schools in sections of the city where the governmental agencies were not active educationally resulted in the formation of school societies, groups of philanthropically minded persons who established free schools for the children of the poor. The Public School Society of New York City was established in 1805 with De Witt Clinton as its president. This Society was regarded almost immediately as a semi-public institution, and very soon it began to receive aid from public funds. Many people considered it a nonsectarian organization, although its charter had empowered it to teach "the sublime truths of religion and morality contained in the Holy Scriptures." A Catholic historian writes, "Although professedly 'nonsectarian,' the schools of the society were in reality offensively Protestant. The teachers were almost exclusively Protestant, the Protestant Bible was read, some of the books used were sectarian in character, and the atmosphere of the schoolroom was, generally speaking, such as to con-

stitute a menace to the faith of Catholic children."[20] A Protestant historian writes: "The King James version of the Scriptures was read daily in all of the schools of the society and the regular prayers, singing, and religious instruction were not in accord with Catholic belief. Particular grounds for complaint existed in the textbooks used in the society's schools; all were blatantly Protestant in sympathy and many were openly disrespectful of Catholicism."[21] In 1820 an effort on the part of a Baptist church to get an appropriation of public money for its school resulted in a ruling by the Common Council that all school funds raised by taxation should go to the Public School Society. This ruling was violated in 1831, when a grant was made to the Protestant Orphan Society. The Roman Catholic Benevolent Society immediately petitioned for a similar appropriation, which was granted over the protests of the Public School Society. In 1840 the Governor of the state, alert to the problem of the education of "the children of foreigners," recommended the "establishment of schools in which they may be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves, and professing the same faith."[22] Thus encouraged, the Catholics of New York City applied to the city council for a division of the school fund on the ground that public money given to the Public School Society was in reality money given for Protestant education. Their petition was denied by an overwhelming vote. The Catholics then carried their cause to the state legislature, a Jewish synagogue and a Scotch Presbyterian church supporting their effort and likewise applying for an appropriation from state funds. The Methodists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Dutch Reformed, and Reformed Presbyterians, some of them

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[20]J. A. Burns, *The Catholic School System in the United States: Its Principles, Origin, and Establishment,* Benziger Bros., New York, 1908, p. 361.

[21]Billington, *op. cit.,* p. 144.

[22]*Assembly Documents,* 1840, Vol. I, p. 5. Quoted by Burns, *op. cit.*

reversing their position of twenty years before, opposed the petition. Anti-Catholic feeling was running high at the time, and the debate in the legislature fanned the fires of prejudice. Catholicism was attacked "as an anti-Biblical [*sic*] religion. Catholics were represented as irreligious idol worshipers bent on the murder of all Protestants and the subjugation of all democracies. 'I do say,' one minister told the sympathetic galleries, 'that if the fearful dilemma were forced upon me, of becoming an infidel or a Roman Catholic, according to the entire system of popery, with all its idolatry, superstition, and violent opposition to the Holy Bible, I would rather be an infidel than a papist.' "[23] Prejudice was so violent that the legislature thought it wise to postpone action. Finally in 1842, after much heated discussion, it was evident that "while it might not be desirable to continue to give funds to a privately organized corporation, to divide them among the quarreling and envious religious sects would be much worse."[24] As a result the legislature decreed that in the future no portion of the public-school funds was to be given to any school in which "any religious sectarian doctrine or tenet should be taught, inculcated, or practiced"; and it created the public-school system of New York City by establishing the City Board of Education. The Public School Society continued its work for a few years, but in 1853, there being no longer any reason for its existence, its efforts ceased.

The experiences of Massachusetts and New York City determined the national policy. As soon as it became apparent that the former means of teaching religion were to be discontinued, the Protestants adopted a working philosophy which placed the responsibility for religious education on the home and on Sunday Schools. Protestants at this time did not understand the importance of educational processes; they put their faith in conversion and stressed revival meetings as a means

[23]Billington, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
[24]Cubberley, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

of bringing conversions to pass. Thus the meager amount of formal religious education which the Sunday School could provide and the unorganized instruction of the home seemed to them to be adequate. Catholics felt that systematic and long-continued religious instruction is essential to the religious life and did not consider that the home and Sunday Schools could meet the need; they founded a system of parochial schools.

We have seen that in New York and Massachusetts the present nonreligious public school grew out of the efforts of public officials to devise a solution of the problem of religious education which would satisfy the demands of the competing sects. The sectarian public school did not grow from the efforts of those who were opposed to the church or from an indifference to religion but rather from a deep concern for sectarian religion. Each of the sects was so zealous for its own rights that it feared any system which might give its rivals any advantage. Each sect was quite willing to have its own dogmas taught in the schools; but rather than have the dogmas of other denominations taught there, it was willing to accept the secular public school, unsatisfactory as such a school is from the religious point of view.

The secularization of the schools proceeded slowly in the rest of the country. Sectarian teaching survived in most of the states until the middle of the century and even later. Curti declares that "no great educational leader before the Civil War would have denied that intellectual education was subordinate to religious values." Prayers and Scripture readings were widely used in the schools. Textbooks continued to teach religion:

> As late as 1848, *Webster's Elementary Speller,* of which a million copies were being sold annually, was outspoken in its religious character. Children who studied this famous "blue-back" learned that "God governs the world with infinite wisdom," makes the ground to bring forth fruit for man and beast,

and is to be worshipped with prayer on beginning the day and before retiring at night. . . . Further, they were taught that the immortality of the soul had been rarely disputed; that the Scriptures were to be examined "daily and carefully"; that pastors did not like to see vacant seats in church, and that the devil is the great adversary of man.[25]

Gradually, however, as it everywhere became clear that private philanthropy could not properly provide for the nation's educational interests, tax money was voted in larger and larger measure for public education. The present system of universal, free public schools thus developed and the American people came generally to accept as inevitable the solutions worked out in Massachusetts and New York City of the problem of providing religious education.

Laws regulating religion and public education

By about the beginning of the fourth quarter of the last century the process of the secularization of the public school was complete. This fact can best be shown by reviewing the dates of the adoption by the various states of constitutional provisions prohibiting the giving of public funds to sectarian schools; Table I gives these dates. Such provisions, requiring a two-thirds or a three-fourths vote of the state legislatures, usually came some years after a majority of the people approved the secularization of schools supported by public funds.

Table I

Dates of the adoption by various states of constitutional provisions prohibiting sectarian teaching in schools supported by taxes.[26]

States Amending Constitution	*Date*	*States Adopting Provision when Admitted*	*Date*
New Jersey	1844	Wisconsin	1848
Michigan	1850	Oregon	1857

[25]Curti, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17.
[26]Cubberley, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

States Amending Constitution	*Date*	*States Adopting Provision when Admitted*	*Date*
Ohio	1851	Kansas	1859
Indiana	1851	Nevada	1864
Massachusetts	1855	Nebraska	1867
Iowa	1857	West Virginia	1872
Mississippi	1868	Colorado	1876
South Carolina	1868	North Dakota	1889
Arkansas	1868	South Dakota	1889
Illinois	1870	Montana	1889
Pennsylvania	1872	Washington	1889
Alabama	1875	Idaho	1890
Missouri	1875	Wyoming	1890
North Carolina	1876	Utah	1896
Texas	1876	Oklahoma	1907
Minnesota	1877	New Mexico	1912
Georgia	1877	Arizona	1912
California	1879		
Louisiana	1879		
Florida	1885		
Delaware	1897		

Examples of these constitutional provisions taken at random illustrate their type. Alabama amended its constitution in 1875 in the following manner: "No money raised for the support of the public schools of the state shall be appropriated to or used for the support of any sectarian or denominational school." Illinois in 1870 amended its constitution as follows: "Nor shall any grant or donation of land, money, or other personal property ever be made by the state or any such corporation to any church or for any sectarian purpose." Wyoming, when it was admitted to the Union in 1890, had a provision in its constitution which read: "No money of the state shall ever be given or appropriated to any sectarian or religious society or institution."

The states have not relied simply on these constitutional provisions but have passed many other laws designed to enforce the separation of sectarianism and public education.

Laws were passed which prohibited the following practices: sectarian instruction, establishment of departments of theology in schools supported by public funds, use of sectarian textbooks, use of religious tests before public-school teachers are hired, appropriation of public funds to schools under ecclesiastical control.

These laws have been summarized many times,[27] and, therefore, the attempt to outline them in detail need not detain us here. Certain salient features, however, should be pointed out. The language of most laws prohibits the teaching, not of religion, but of "sectarian religion." These laws grew out of a conviction that there is a core of religious belief on which all the sects agree and which must be taught if morality and character are to endure in the nation. The language of these laws is interesting. For example, in establishing its public schools the legislature of California in 1855 provided "nor shall sectarian or denominational doctrines be taught therein." The legislature of Louisiana in 1855 forbade "any course of religious instruction [to] be taught or allowed of a sectarian character and tendency" in the state university. An Act of the legislature of Utah in 1872 provided that no "atheistic, infidel, sectarian, or denominational doctrine shall be taught in any of the district schools of the state." A few states, however, bluntly prohibit the teaching of any sort of religion. For example, Texas in 1876 passed a law which said "nor shall any form of religion be taught in any public free school in this state."

A significant phraseology was adopted by four states in the laws relating to their state universities. Montana, Wiscon-

[27]See Samuel Windsor Brown, *The Secularization of American Education,* Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1912; Burton Confrey, *Secularism in American Education, Its History,* The Catholic University of America, Washington, 1931; Alvin W. Johnson, *The Legal Status of Church-State Relationships in the United States with Special Reference to the Public Schools,* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1934.

sin, South Dakota, and Idaho, in 1893, 1898, 1903, and 1907, respectively, decreed: "But no instruction either sectarian in religion or partisan in politics shall ever be allowed in any department of the university." It is an interesting commentary on the present scene to note that each of these universities has a full-fledged department of political science; but not one of them has a department of religion.

Laws which deal with the reading of the Bible in the public schools multiplied during the World War I period under the impact of Protestant fundamentalism and nativist movements like the Ku Klux Klan. Alvin W. Johnson in his summary of the laws which apply at this point says: "Twelve of the states and the District of Columbia reported that during the school year 1932–1933 the reading of the Bible was required in their public schools, seven states reported that it was permitted, eighteen that it was optional, and eleven that it was prohibited." The American Civil Liberties Union in commenting on this situation declares: "In practical effect this is equivalent to attempting to impose the Protestant religion on the children of the schools, for the King James version is almost invariably the Bible selected."

Laws expressly permitting children to be released from attendance at the public schools for short periods of religious instruction have been passed by several of the states;[28] however, weekday religious instruction on released time is being offered in many of the states where no permissive legislation exists. Davis, in her study of the situation in 1940, found such instruction being offered in thirty-eight states.[29] This type of instruction is apparently widely approved by public sentiment.

The interpretation by the courts of the many laws pro-

[28]See Ward W. Keesecker, *Laws Relating to the Releasing of Pupils from Public Schools for Religious Instruction,* 1933, U. S. Gov. Printing Office. See also *Yearbook of School Law,* published annually 1933–40 by American Council on Education.

[29]Mary Dabney Davis, *Weekday Classes in Religious Education,* Bulletin No. 3, 1941, U. S. Office of Education.

hibiting religious activities on the part of the schools has been far from consistent. In summarizing a careful study of the decisions a recent investigator has declared that "the opinions of the courts concerning the legality of certain religious practices arising in litigation in the common schools are hopelessly in conflict. Opposite decisions are found even in courts that appeal to identical constitutional provisions. . . . There is also an inherent difficulty of getting a truly judicial expression because of the personal religious belief and prejudice of the judge making the decision."[30]

One important legal decision deserves special attention. In 1922 the Oregon legislature passed a Compulsory Education Act which required that parents and guardians must send children to the public schools, the obvious intent of the act being to close private and church schools. This Act of the legislature followed a proposal which was placed before the voters of the state by initiative petition, and which was approved by a small majority. The Catholics secured an injunction against the operation of the Act until a decision on its constitutionality could be secured from the United States Supreme Court. It was declared unconstitutional by this body. Thus the right of churches and individuals to conduct private education was firmly established. A proposal similar to the Oregon law was placed before the electorate of Michigan in 1924 and failed of adoption by a wide margin.

[30]John L. Donovan, *Litigation Arising out of Religious Questions Concerning the Common Schools,* University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, 1937, quoted by *The Seventh Yearbook of School Law,* 1939, p. 171.

CHAPTER III

The Present Status of Church and Synagogue Education

WHAT are the results of a hundred years of experimentation with taking systematic instruction in religion out of the public schools, and placing the responsibility for traditional religious education on the home, the church, and the synogogue?

Under such an arrangement one would expect that the home would take its responsibilities very seriously; yet today the home is less concerned about religious education than it was a century ago; religion as a systematic interest has all but dropped out of the American family picture. Powerful indirect religious influences on the part of the home undoubtedly remain. Parents still take seriously the ethical training of their children and strive to bring them to conformity with accepted ethical standards. Yet, in general, parents take very lightly the responsibility of introducing children to our rich religious heritage. The important influence of the home in shaping the lives of children has been amply established.[1] But if religion is as essential as it was declared to be earlier in these pages, at least as essential as, say, a knowledge of arithmetic or of geography, then it must be cared for by more potent forces than the present, unordered well-wishing of the average American parent. Dr. Morrison of *The Christian Century* sums the matter up thus: "What the home has done about it [religious education] is too notorious to require comment."

[1]See, for example, Character Education Inquiry, *Studies in Deceit.* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928, Chapters 8–10, 14.

Professor F. Ernest Johnson is of the opinion that the home could never *by itself* be the adequate agency of religious education: "It is the function of the school to rise above the cultural level of the home *as is*. The school is a selective instrumentality with reference to the culture. We expect it to lift the level of the common life. The average American home is no more in a position to carry responsibility for the religious education of children and youth than it is to conduct their political education. The home contributes on its own level to every phase of education," but other agencies "must carry the major responsibility for the educative process as a whole."[2]

The major responsibility for traditional religious education today falls on the church and the synagogue. We turn now to a brief survey of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish education.

Protestant religious education

Protestants have utilized four types of organization for religious instruction: parochial schools, vacation schools, Sunday Schools, and weekday schools. In many sections of America the historic type of Christian education was what amounted to the parochial school. Most American Protestants have abandoned it, and yet not all. In 1932–33 about 120,000 American Protestant students were attending elementary or secondary schools affiliated with Protestant denominations. Presumably most of these schools were parochial in character. About 70,000 of these students attended schools affiliated with the Lutheran Churches (the Missouri Synod, chiefly),[3] about 12,000 attended schools affiliated with the Episcopal Church, and about 7,000 attended schools affiliated with the Presbyterian Church. The curricula of these schools of course include the study of religion.

[2]F. Ernest Johnson, *The Social Gospel Re-examined,* Harper and Brothers, New York, 1940, pp. 179–180.

[3]See Walter H. Beck, *Lutheran Elementary Schools in the United States,* Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, 1939.

The vacation schools are a relatively new departure in religious education; they began about 1900. W. Dyer Blair of the International Council of Religious Education, author of *The New Vacation Church Schools,* states in personal correspondence his belief that these schools are on the increase. Few statistical data are available, but he estimates that while in 1920 there were three-quarters of a million children in ten thousand Protestant vacation schools, today there are two million children in twenty-five thousand schools. He estimates further that forty thousand paid teachers and sixty thousand volunteer teachers are conducting the schools.

Protestantism's chief reliance, however, in the work of religious education has been the Sunday School. In the beginning of its development the aim of the Sunday School was not religious education as such, but education, of course including religious education as was the general practice of the early nineteenth century. Early in its history, however, the Sunday School developed many of the features which characterize it today, and it ultimately became Protestantism's essentially lay response to the secular public school. Sunday School enrollments now run into the millions.

For many decades vigorous efforts have been made to make the Sunday School an effective educational medium. Many classes for teachers have been formed, many "lesson helps" distributed, many regional and denominational organizations established.[4] The International Council of Religious Education has sponsored teacher-training courses at three levels, beginning with elementary principles of teaching, and continuing to advanced material at the third level; these courses are used by denominational and regional Sunday School federations and in both local and summer training schools.

What are the educational results of this effort? There is no better way to answer this question than to give brief sum-

[4]See Frank Glenn Lankard, *A History of the American Sunday School Curriculum,* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, Nashville, 1927.

maries of two careful surveys of American Sunday Schools. One of the Yale Studies in Religious Education surveyed 746 church schools. These schools had a combined enrollment of about 158,000 pupils, and were scattered all over the United States, in communities of various sizes and economic levels. They represented twenty-eight denominations.[5] The educational conditions which prevail in these schools are doubtless superior to the average of the country, for these schools are all in churches which have a pastor who is a graduate of a theological seminary. Sixty-one per cent of these churches spend nothing on their educational work, and but 13 per cent spend as much as $1.50 per year per pupil. The school sessions are generally an hour in length; the opening exercises vary from none at all to forty-five minutes in length, with a median of seventeen minutes. However, 41 per cent of the schools report that but thirty minutes are devoted to class work. The attendance averages about 70 per cent of the school enrollments. (The public schools average about 86 per cent of their enrollments in daily attendance.[6]) Sixty-eight per cent of the Sunday Schools reported no departmental divisions for pupils over twelve years of age. Sixty-one per cent have no library of any kind; half of them have fewer than six classrooms or clubrooms in addition to the church auditorium. The records are poorly kept: "A total lack of any kind of individual record, either temporary or permanent, is noted in 41.4 per cent of the cases." Ninety-two per cent of the schools pay none of the teachers, who are for the most part untrained; few college graduates or public-school teachers are among them. In half of the schools not more than two of the teachers have attended any kind of religious education

[5]Hugh Hartshorne, Helen R. Stearns, and Willard Uphaus, *Standards and Trends in Religious Education,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1932.

[6]U. S. Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education,* 1934–1936, Statistics of City School Systems, 1938, p. 5.

training school. Two-thirds of the schools own no books on religious education.

The authors of the study conclude that it "revealed the presence of a Sunday School stereotype" whose "traditional practice includes the limiting the session to one hour a week, reliance upon volunteer and largely untrained leadership, the focusing of interest upon children under eighteen years of age, the financial independence of the Sunday School from the church."

The second survey was a study made twenty years ago of Protestant religious education in Indiana;[7] it was an outgrowth of the Interchurch World Movement. Four per cent of all the Protestant Sunday Schools in Indiana were carefully studied. The communities in which these schools were located were carefully chosen in order that they would represent a cross section of the state; every school in the communities selected was surveyed, except in the city of Indianapolis, where a large sampling was made. The results of the study are summarized in Chapter Two of the first of the three volumes in which the study is reported. The following quotations are selected from this chapter:

> The *four-teacher school* is most frequently found. The median school has eight teachers and five officers. . . . The typical school has no departmental officers.
>
> Seventy per cent of the Sunday Schools are completely *ungraded* and 2.8 per cent are completely *graded.* Seven out of every ten Sunday Schools consist of a "main school" with no divisions or departments of any kind except the class groups.
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> The typical school expends nothing for salaries.
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> Eighty-four per cent of the Sunday Schools hold fifty-two sessions each year.
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> The cost of operation for the typical Indiana Sunday School is slightly more than *two dollars per Sunday.*

[7]Walter Athearn, and others, *The Indiana Survey of Religious Education,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1923.

For every dollar which the churches expend out of their treasuries for the support of their church schools, the church schools put eleven dollars back into the church treasuries for the support of the churches.

Forty-seven cents out of every municipal dollar go for the support of public schools; but only two and three-tenths cents of every church dollar go for the support of the church schools.

Of the total rural population of less than twenty-one years of age, 39.1 per cent are enrolled in Sunday Schools, while of the total urban population of less than twenty-one years of age, 48.6 per cent are enrolled in Sunday Schools. [Data based on survey of two counties.]

The Indiana schools surveyed attract boys less than they attract girls.

The pupil attends Sunday School . . . approximately every other Sunday that the Sunday School is in session.

The only data on pupils which the Sunday School authorities in all schools regard as sufficiently important to record are the full name of the pupil and his absence from class. . . . About half of the schools make a record of the residence of the pupil and the date of the pupil's birth.

The typical Indiana Sunday School teacher is a married woman, thirty-seven years of age, with two children.

Indiana Sunday School teachers are the mature men and women of the church, who, in addition to the duties of home and business, assume the responsibility for three types of service to the local church [one of which is teaching in the Sunday School] because of profound convictions that the work is of supreme importance and worthy of sacrificial service.

The median Indiana Sunday School teacher has had eleven years of schooling . . . fewer than ten weeks of professional training . . . six and one-half years of [Sunday School] teaching experience.

The rank and file of Sunday School teachers have had no courses in the Bible, religion or religious education, in any institution of higher learning.

Many of the church buildings are inadequately heated, the systems being old and inefficient. A majority of the buildings are provided with hot air furnaces, so installed that in most cases they are constant fire hazards. Practically no fire protection is provided.

At least half of the churches are so far below accepted standards as to be unworthy of remodeling.

The fourth type of religious instruction which has been used by Protestants is weekday religious instruction. Donald R. Gorham, in *The Status of Weekday Church Schools in the United States,* defines this type of instruction as follows:[8] "Weekday church schools consist of classes for moral-religious instruction given during released time from the public school for a period proximating the public-school year, conducted by a church or groups of co-operating churches which provide the instruction, housing and support of the classes."

George U. Wenner, in a paper read in 1905 before the Interchurch Conference in New York City, proposed that public-school pupils be released one afternoon a week in order to attend religious schools in their own churches. Perhaps as a result of this address a weekday church school was established in 1906 in the Christ Lutheran Church in New York City. The real beginning of the modern weekday religious education movement, however, occurred in 1913 in Gary, Indiana, when William Wirt, Superintendent of the Gary public schools, offered to release pupils from the schools for religious instruction. This experiment immediately attracted attention and was widely copied. Over three hundred weekday schools of religion had been established by 1922, when Erwin L. Shaver made an extensive survey of the situation.[9]

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[8]Donald R. Gorham, *The Status of Weekday Church Schools in the United States,* Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, 1934, p. 11.

[9]"A Survey of Weekday Religious Education," in *Weekday Religious Education,* Henry F. Cope (ed.), Doubleday, Doran, 1922, pp. 9 to 68.

At that time thirty-two thousand pupils were reported as receiving weekday religious instruction. All through the decade of the 'twenties Protestant religious educators thrilled at the prospect which opened up before this type of instruction. It was widely felt that the Sunday School was not meeting the need and weekday schools were seized upon as the solution to the vexing problem of how to provide adequate religious instruction. Consequently under the direction of enthusiastic professors of religious education in leading universities, many communities began programs of weekday instruction; not all of them were successful. Owing chiefly to financial difficulties —aggravated, to be sure, by the depression of the 'thirties but having their real root in the voluntary nature of the financial support—many of the schools have closed and many projected schools failed to open.

A recent survey of weekday religious education is a bulletin of the United States Office of Education.[10] In preparing this publication strenuous efforts were made to secure reports from all American communities which release children from the public schools for instruction in religion. The data summarize the situation for all sects. In 1940 children in 488 communities were released from the public schools for instruction in religion. These communities were located in thirty-eight states. The establishing of weekday schools was being considered by 126 communities; these communities were located in thirty-two states, four of which reported no existing weekday school. Data on average attendance were reported by 357 of the 488 school systems. In January, 1940, the attendance averaged 164,013. This figure contrasts with the nearly thirty million pupils who were attending the public schools during that period.

Recently there has been a sharp increase in the number of children enrolled in weekday religious schools. In January, 1944, Dr. Shaver, making an enthusiastic report in the *Inter-*

[10]Mary Dabney Davis, *Weekday Classes in Religious Education,* Bulletin No. 3, 1941, U. S. Office of Education.

national Journal of Religious Education,[11] wrote as follows:

It is difficult to say just how many communities have adopted it [weekday religious education] or how many pupils are enrolled. A conservative estimate would be a thousand communities and a million pupils. . . . When one hears that in New York State alone there are 193 communities outside of the metropolitan area (where 150,000 children are currently enrolled); that ninety communities in North Carolina offer courses for 30,000 high school students; that students in 131 Texas high schools take such a course; that more than a hundred Ohio and Minnesota communities operate weekday church schools—and knows that there are over forty states where the plan is in operation—he realizes that here is a significant enterprise which has passed from the stage of infancy to adolescence.

In 1933 Gorham studied the educational standards under which weekday schools were conducted. The following quotations are from the conclusions to his study:[12]

The average attendance of weekday church schools is 94.5 per cent of the enrollment.

Two hundred and fifty-eight communities reported an average weekday church school session of 33.1 weeks per year.

Pupils are released from elementary public school grades and from high school for weekday religious instruction. The grades from which children are most frequently released are grades 3 to 6 inclusive.

In approximately 25 per cent of the communities releasing children, public school credit is given for the religious instruction received in the weekday church schools.

In the communities where weekday religious instruction is given an average of 38 per cent of elementary school pupils and 29 per cent of high school pupils receive such instruction.

Although an approximately equal number of paid and volunteer teachers are employed, fully 85 per cent of the actual teaching is done by the paid teachers.

[11]Erwin L. Shaver, *International Journal of Religious Education* (January, 1944).

[12]Gorham, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–85.

The average expenditure per pupil enrolled in weekday church schools is $2.71 per year.

Supervisors are employed by 126 communities. Of these only 22 are full-time in the sense that they are paid a full-time salary; their average salary being $1,502.50 per year.

Supervision of instruction appears to be very meager, considering the weekday church school movement as a whole. In those communities where there is definite supervision of instruction, the supervisors are familiar with a wide range of supervisory techniques.

One hundred and two paid teachers are professional in the sense that they receive full-time salaries, their average annual remuneration being $1,490.20. Nearly all of the part-time teachers are paid on an hourly basis, remuneration averaging $1.47 per hour.

One hundred and fifty-nine communities have definite requirements for the certification of teachers. One hundred and one or 63.5 per cent of these have standards at least as high as those of the public school, and 32 additional communities require public school teaching experience which implies that the teachers have met the public school requirements.

Provision for training of teachers is made by 161 communities.

The number of years of teaching experience in weekday church schools was reported by 543 teachers. The median number of years experience is 4.0.

The following factual data show that weekday church school teachers are well qualified to teach insofar as their academic and professional training and their experience in teaching and leadership are concerned.

(a) 65.9 per cent have had at least two years of higher educational training. 31.3 per cent are college graduates.
(b) 67.7 per cent have had some professional training.
(c) 84.9 per cent have had teaching experience in public or church schools.
(d) 76.8 per cent have had experience in the leadership of religious activities.

The comparison of paid and volunteer teachers presents a similarity rather than a contrast, the volunteer teachers being

better qualified than would be expected. The paid teachers noticeably exceed the volunteer teachers, however, in percentage of college graduates and the percentage having professional training.

Kenneth L. Thompson, in a study called *Weekday Religious Education in High Schools,* reported that high-school weekday religious education was hard hit by the depression. Apparently, this type of activity is felt by many of its supporters to be one of the less important aspects of church life, and thus it is one of the first projects to be abandoned in times of financial stress. Thompson found also that Bible study for high school credit was legal in 1927 in thirty-three states but that the Protestant denominations are taking very little advantage of the opportunity to offer religious instruction for credit.

Various estimates are given of the percentage of Protestant children reached by these four means of religious education: parochial, vacation, Sunday, and weekday schools. In 1921 Cope declared, "Only one-fourth of our [Protestant] children get as much as thirty-five periods, of less than thirty minutes each, annually, of religious instruction." The Interchurch World Movement surveys estimated that in 1920 over 60 per cent of the children of the nation were receiving no systematic religious instruction. On the basis of the Census of *Religious Bodies: 1926* the International Council of Religious Education calculated that of the estimated thirty million Americans between the ages of five and seventeen, approximately sixteen million received no formal religious education. These last two estimates include, of course, Catholic and Jewish youth.

These data present an unhappy picture of Protestant religious education. The major reasons why Protestants permitted this situation to develop are probably the following: 1. They failed to understand the importance of educational techniques as opposed to revival meetings. 2. They failed to understand the necessity for high educational standards; they

were willing to pin their hopes on schools which were taught by untrained persons, which were in session for but one hour a week, and which commanded the consistent attendance of but few pupils. 3. Protestants often had a conviction, frequently unconscious and unexpressed, that the public schools were really Protestant in tone. The average American community has been overwhelmingly Protestant in its sympathies, and the schools have frequently been administered with a subtle Protestant bias. Exactly the same situation has prevailed in some Catholic communities, as will be shown later. This faith on the part of Protestants in the essential Protestantism of the public schools has tended to cut the nerve of Protestant effort in behalf of religious education.

Catholic religious education

The educational system of the Roman Catholic Church adheres in many respects to the early American model; this situation is not due to inertia or to the persistence of tradition, but to a conviction on the part both of the hierarchy and of Catholic laymen that any compromise with a secular school is unchristian and must be opposed. An elaborate system of Catholic schools has been established in the United States. These are maintained wholly by voluntary contributions and, as Dr. Johnson, formerly the Educational Director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, justly says, constitute "the most substantial and dramatic act of faith in education that is being made by any section of the American populace."[13] For, in addition to the voluntary support of the schools of their church, Catholics must pay their full share of taxes toward the support of the public schools. Their taxes go to support a system of education in which excellent facilities and expensive equipment are available. Yet for conscience' sake and at their own expense, Catholics send their children to

[13]George Johnson, "The Catholic Schools in America," *Atlantic Monthly,* Vol. 165 (April, 1940), p. 500.

schools which are not so well provided on the material side.

This situation developed out of the struggle for the public school and out of the secularization of the school. After the Catholics were defeated in New York City in their efforts to get a share of the public-school fund, they "decided to launch a movement to create a separate system of schools, supported by the parishes, which should parallel in every respect the system of schools supported by the state. The New York case was decisive for the rest of the country. If Catholics in that state with their relatively large and influential population were powerless to vindicate their rights against the onrushing flood of secularization, the Catholics in other states, proportionately weaker, felt that further efforts of their own would be futile."[14] The First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852 and also the Second in 1866 adopted the New York policy as a national solution. The present system of Catholic education really dates, however, from the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore held in 1884, which established an educational code for all Catholics in America. It required every pastor to establish a school and to maintain it *in perpetuum* and every parent to send his children to Catholic schools, unless the bishop released the pastor or parent from these obligations.

Pius XI in his *Encyclical Letter on Education* in 1929 stated many of the propositions which underlie the present practice in Catholic education; the following quotations are from this letter:

> Since education consists essentially in preparing man for what he must be and for what he must do here below, in order to attain the sublime end for which he was created, it is clear that there can be no true education which is not wholly directed to man's last end.
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> Consequently, education which is concerned with man as a

[14]Rt. Rev. John R. Hagan, "Catholic Education and the Elementary School," in *Vital Problems of Catholic Education in the United States*, Roy J. Deferrari (ed.), Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1939, p. 62.

whole, individually and socially, in the order of nature and in the order of grace, necessarily belongs to all these societies [the family, the state, and the Church], in due proportion, corresponding, according to the disposition of Divine Providence, to the co-ordination of their respective ends.

And first of all education belongs pre-eminently to the Church, by reason of a double title in the supernatural order, conferred exclusively upon her by God Himself; absolutely superior therefore to any other title in the natural order.

Pius X [declared that the Church] alone possesses what she has had immediately from God and can never lose, the whole of moral truth.

Again it is the inalienable right as well as the indispensable duty of the Church, to watch over the entire education of her children, in all institutions, public and private, not merely in regard to the religious instruction there given, but in regard to every other branch of learning and every regulation insofar as religion and morality are concerned.

All this the Church has been able to do because her mission to educate extends equally to those outside the Fold, seeing that all men are called to enter the kingdom of God and reach eternal salvation. . . . Hence it is evident that both by right and in fact the mession to educate belongs pre-eminently to the Church, and that no one free from prejudice can have a reasonable motive for opposing or impeding the Church in this her work.

The Church is indeed conscious of her divine mission to all mankind, and of the obligation which all men have to practice the one true religion; and therefore she never tires of defending her right, and of reminding parents of their duty, to have all Catholic-born children baptized and brought up as Christians. On the other hand so jealous is she of the family's inviolable natural right to educate the children, that she never consents, save under peculiar circumstances and with special cautions, to baptize the children of infidels, or provide for their education against the will of the parents, till such time as the children can choose for themselves and freely embrace the Faith.

The so-called "neutral" or "lay" school, from which religion is excluded, is contrary to the fundamental principles of education. Such a school cannot exist in practice; it is bound to become irreligious. . . . The frequenting of non-Catholic schools, whether neutral or mixed, those namely which are open to Catholics and non-Catholics alike, is forbidden for Catholic children, and can

be at most tolerated, on the approval of the Ordinary alone, under determined circumstances of place and time with special precautions. Neither can Catholics admit that other type of mixed school . . . in which the students are provided with separate religious instruction, but receive other lessons in common with non-Catholic pupils from non-Catholic teachers. For the mere fact that a school gives some religious instruction (often extremely stinted) does not bring it into accord with the rights of the Church and of the Christian family, or make it a fit place for Catholic students. To be this, it is necessary that all teaching and the whole organization of the school, and its teachers, syllabus and textbooks in every branch, be regulated by the Christian spirit, under the direction and maternal supervision of the Church; so that Religion may be in very truth the foundation and crown of the youth's entire training.

And let no one say that in a nation where there are different religious beliefs, it is impossible to provide for public instruction otherwise than by neutral or mixed schools. In such a case it becomes the duty of the State, indeed it is the easier and more reasonable method of procedure, to leave free scope to the initiative of the Church and the family, while giving them such assistance as justice demands. That this can be done to the full satisfaction of families, and to the advantage of education and of public peace and tranquillity, is clear from the actual experience of some countries comprising different religious denominations.

Catholics are not satisfied with the system of having parochial schools and their attendant double taxation. Although not all American Catholics are in agreement concerning the ideal type of education, the dominant Catholic position in America today is that the fair thing would be for the state to establish schools, to erect buildings, to pay salaries, to compel attendance, and to establish minimum standards, but to turn over to the Catholic Church the actual job of selecting the teachers of Catholic children and of supervising their work. Some Catholic educators oppose this position on the grounds that state support means the danger of too much state supervision. The Right Reverend John R. Hagan in

a statement of the dominant Catholic position declares:[15]

The secularized public school of America was conceived from the idea that a least common denominator of religion can be formulated which shall exclude all matters of sectarian variation and which shall include all essential doctrines of revealed religion. This was certainly the professed objective of the educational reformers; and it is a historical fact that, had not the American people been convinced of its possibility, they would never have endorsed the innovation of a State-controlled school. . . . When it became clear that religion, no less than sectarianism, had to be eliminated from the public school, a new formula was evolved; namely, that the school has as [its] exclusive function the teaching of secular branches and that the home and church only should impart religious instruction. I am not concerned here with the contemptuous fashion with which religion was thus relegated to the odds and ends of hours apart from the school day; nor with the fact that little religion was taught in the average American home at any time and hardly any now; nor with the conclusion after long trial that Sunday School classes can have only small value. All these things have been recognized for some time. . . .

Our early American educational leaders thought that facts could be presented in detached fashion to students and that these facts would remain in their minds as isolated bits of knowledge. Our present-day educators are better informed. They realize that the human mind by inevitable tendency must bind together factual knowledge and work out from this accumulation general principles of action and conduct, the whole body of which constitutes a *weltanschauung,* a philosophy of life, a religion. Unless God is contained in the initial data, He cannot be contained in the principles which are distilled from these data. This process of generalization is not reserved to the hours of presumed religious instruction in the home or the Sunday School. It goes on constantly. . . .

In Ontario, Quebec, England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and in . . . nearly all other countries of Europe and in all the countries of South America . . . satisfactory solutions are established. Of all these only England may be said

[15] "A Plea for Conciliation," *The National Catholic Education Association Bulletin,* August, 1939.

to have union of Church and State—the rest have no such union. Indeed this cry of separation of Church and State which is raised whenever our school problem is mentioned, can proceed only from passion and prejudice when it does not proceed from sheer ignorance. It certainly rests on no factual evidence, for the testimony of the whole world discloses its falseness. It is especially significant that the only countries which have adopted the American solution have been precisely those countries which have warred on religion.

We may have grown accustomed to the condition, but to peoples in other lands the situation is simply not understandable. They can understand how such a thing can occur in a despotic nation where the rights of minorities are trampled underfoot, but they cannot understand how it can be permitted amongst a people who hold as sacred and inalienable the fundamental human rights. Nor can they understand how our American government can be so incensed over the violation of rights of minorities in European countries and be so blind to the violation of rights of minorities at home. They point out that President Wilson himself demanded from the people of Poland a guarantee of the educational rights of the Jewish minority before consenting to sanction the new Polish State. . . .

Let us put the whole case in succinct form:

Since the passage of the compulsory attendance laws,

Either Catholic parents must send their children to non-religious public schools, and thus suffer violation of conscience rights—

Or Catholic parents must create and maintain at their own expense schools conformable to their religious beliefs, and thus submit to a penalty for the exercise of their conscience—

Or Catholic parents, unwilling to send their children to public schools and unable to finance their own schools, could refuse to obey the attendance laws, and would then suffer imprisonment for their religious convictions.

Since the compulsory attendance laws, then, the State is absolutely obliged to provide schools for all children affected by the laws. But the schools so provided must be such that they can be frequented by all children without violation of the inalienable rights guaranteed by the Constitution. If the schools so provided are such that they may not be attended by certain numbers of children without such violation of conscience, the State has insofar failed in its duty. It has not, in short, provided the means

whereby Catholic children may comply with the attendance laws; although it has included such children within the scope of the laws.

The Catholic educational slogan is "Every Catholic child in a Catholic school." This ideal has not been realized, for about one-half of the Catholic elementary-school pupils and three-fourths of the secondary-school pupils are in the public schools. Nevertheless, the statistics of the growth of Catholic elementary and secondary schools are impressive. In 1840 there were about 200 such schools with about 20,000 students. In 1884, when the Third Plenary Council met in Baltimore, there were 4,000 schools with 640,000 students. In 1940 there were 10,049 schools with 2,396,305 students.

The quality of the education provided in these schools has frequently been questioned by non-Catholics. Catholics have little patience with this attitude, and for good reason. They point out that on the basis of what Catholics consider to be the most important educational standard—the religious instruction provided—the Catholic school system has no peer in American society. They point out that the chief superiority of the public-school system is a material one. They look with pride on the able staff of teachers who conduct the Catholic schools. These teachers have chosen education as a lifework; they do not look on teaching as temporary employment between school and marriage. Father Johnson, in the article previously referred to, declares: "Oftentimes it has been hinted, if not openly asserted, that the education which children receive in Catholic schools is inferior to that which is provided in tax-supported institutions. Such a criticism is entirely gratuitous; I know of no evidence anywhere to support it. Here and there throughout the country Catholic schools are overcrowded. The same can be said for public schools. By and large, perhaps, the program in the Catholic schools is much more conservative than in the public schools, but it might well be argued that this fact is to their credit. . . . There is

an atmosphere of affection about a parish school that I, at least, have never found in other educational institutions."

The Catholic school system is made possible by the fact that it is staffed by sisters, or nuns, as they are sometimes called, who have taken a vow of poverty and who receive perhaps a third to half of the salary of a corresponding public school teacher. The cost of Catholic schools is thus very low when compared with the cost of the public schools. In a survey reported for the school year 1926–27 the cost per pupil in the public schools of Chicago was $126.95 and in the parochial schools of Chicago $26.65.[16] Most Catholic elementary schools charge fifty cents to one dollar per month tuition; scholarship provision is usually made for the children of the very poor.

The curriculum of the Catholic schools, except for the inclusion of instruction in religion, is not particularly different from that of the public schools; the method of instruction, however, relies more heavily on memory work than does that of the run of the public schools. Catholic secondary schools are of the academic or college preparatory type, many of them providing also a commercial training. Very little, if anything, is done under Catholic auspices for vocational training; the equipment necessary for this type of education is very expensive, and the Church has not as yet been in a position to provide it. It is also true, however, that the philosophy of vocational education is veering away today from specific and direct training in the trades and toward a more basic and generalized training, sometimes called prevocational education. The equipment necessary for this type of instruction is not so expensive but that many of the Catholic high schools could install it in the not too distant future.

While Catholic educators stanchly defend the parochial

[16]Robert E. O'Brien, "The Cost of Parochial Education in Chicago," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 2 (February, 1929), p. 349.

schools as by far the best schools available for Catholics in the United States, they recognize that the parochial schools have many weaknesses. One of the weakest links in this educational system is the provision which is made for teacher education. It is still the practice for the religious communities to prepare their own members for the work of teaching. In addition to this training in the monastery, the sisters attend Catholic colleges and universities in large numbers, chiefly in the summer sessions. It has been widely felt in Catholic educational circles that these colleges and universities, since they have not specialized in departments of professional education, have not yet equipped themselves to give the best preparation to the elementary-school teacher. This need is now so frankly faced that probably within a few years the facilities for adequate teacher education within the Catholic educational system will be greatly improved.

The Catholic Church is keenly aware of the fact that many of its children are outside of the parochial schools. As a result it makes use of many other devices of religious education. Unfortunately, no statistics seem to be available which indicate the extent of its use of weekday religious education. Weekday schools are widely used.

Catholics also make use of vacation schools of religion. This movement began in 1920 under the direction of Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara, then pastor in Eugene, Oregon. By 1928 this movement had spread to fifty dioceses and "reached a very considerable number of children."[17]

Catholics also make extensive use of the Sunday School. The 1926 religious census reported that there were 1,201,330 scholars in 8,239 Catholic Sunday Schools. (The census for that year reported 1,813,604 scholars in 5,422 parochial schools.) Catholics do not think highly of the Sunday School.

[17]See Edward C. Lilly, *The Catholic Religious Vacation School,* Educational Research Bulletins, Catholic University of America, Washington, Vol. 4 (1929), No. 3.

A prominent priest wrote, "Thousands of children do not and cannot be made to attend Sunday School. Those who do are apt to view religion as a subject out of all relation to everyday life."[18] Catholics consider that weekday, vacation, and Sunday Schools are but a temporary expedient; they look forward to the time when all Catholic children will be in parochial schools.

Jewish religious education[19]

Half of the four and one half million Jews of the United States live in New York City; most of the rest live in other large cities. Thus the surveys which have been made of Jewish education deal with urban centers almost exclusively. The number of Jewish children of elementary-school age who receive some type of religious instruction has not materially altered during the past thirty years. The percentage in 1908 is estimated to have been about twenty-eight; today it is estimated to be thirty. These data indicate the number of Jewish children who are receiving religious instruction in any one year. "It would be more correct to say that probably 70 per cent of the children have received or will receive a Jewish education during their school age."[20] However, the length of time during which the children receive Jewish instruction is, on the average, quite short.

There are four types of Jewish religious schools.

The all-day school is sometimes called the Jewish parochial school. It is an expression of the educational interest of Orthodox Jewish communities and is an endeavor to per-

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[18]Rt. Rev. James H. Ryan, *A Catechism for Catholic Education,* Bureau of Education, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, 1922, p. 51.

[19]This discussion, unless otherwise indicated, is summarized from Israel S. Chipkin, *Twenty-five Years of Jewish Education in the United States,* Jewish Education Association of New York City, New York, 1937.

[20]*Ibid.,* p. 41.

petuate the characteristic Jewish culture and folkways as well as the Jewish religion. Dr. S. Benderley[21] estimates that in 1935 1.5 per cent of the Jewish religious instruction was of this type. All-day schools are on the increase. Dr. Alexander M. Dushkin discusses these schools as follows: "In the older schools of this type, the Jewish subjects are taught mornings and the general subjects afternoons, the emphasis being on Talmudic subjects. Recently, however, a new progressive type of complete-school has been developing which integrates the Jewish and the general studies into one program and embodies in its organization and teaching modern ideas and methods in education. . . . There is every reason to believe that as modern complete-schools develop, they will evolve properly balanced curricula designed for the American Jewish child. Many think that really progressive, effective educational methods are possible to a much larger degree in the complete-school than in the supplementary weekday or Sunday School. Jewish educators point with pride to the fine educational level of some of the complete Jewish schools already in existence."[22]

The weekday school is the most prevalent type of Jewish religious school. About 55 per cent of the Jews who receive religious instruction today are in schools of this type, as contrasted with 35 per cent in 1910. The schools meet after the public schools have closed—from four to eight p.m.—and the pupils attend three to five times a week, frequently including a session Sunday morning. The average class session is about an hour and twenty-five minutes in length; thus the average, total amount of instruction per week for each student is about seven hours. Teachers handle from two to four classes per day. Most of the scholars remain two years or less in the school; not more than 5 per cent get as far as the fifth grade.

The one-day school—usually a Sunday school but occa-

[21] "Jewish Education in the United States," *Jewish Education,* Vol. 7, No. 1.

[22] *Education,* May, 1944; *Jewish Education,* January, 1944.

sionally a Saturday school—is the predominant school of the Reformed congregations and is patterned after the Protestant Sunday School. Such schools enroll 37 per cent of the Jewish religious scholars. The sessions are usually two hours in length. The one-day schools hold their students for a longer number of years than do the weekday schools; many students study for four years, and 30 per cent complete a six-year course. In a study by Emanuel Gamorand, reported in 1925, it was found that the average attendance at 113 schools of this type was 84.6 per cent of the enrollment.[23]

The heder, a private weekday school, is a vestige of the type of Jewish instruction which prevailed in the countries from which American Jews emigrated. It is a private and usually individual enterprise on the part of Jewish teachers. The standards of these schools are usually very low when compared with the usual American educational standards; the teachers are frequently poorly qualified, poorly paid, and poorly adjusted to American life. Very few such schools are in existence in America today outside of New York City. There, however, the heder furnishes about 12 per cent of the total Jewish religious instruction. Many Jewish educators vigorously disapprove of this type of education. Chipkin writes that these schools "served their purposes during the early Jewish settlement and subsequent periods. At best they represent the commercial, individualistic exploitation of the Jewish instinct toward survival. It is no credit to Jewish parents or to Jewish group intelligence that they were willing to sacrifice child and money to such exploitation. It is not necessary to dwell on the unsanitary condition of the *Heder,* the uncouth *Melamed,* the painful and shameful struggle between child and elder, the baneful effects upon two generations of Jews who grew up in hatred of things Jewish."[24]

[23] *A Survey of 125 Religious Schools,* Department of Synagogue and School Extension, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1925, p. 7.

[24] Chipkin, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

Substantial amounts of money are spent for Jewish religious education if we compare them with the amounts spent for Protestant education. In 1935 the parochial school spent $100 per pupil, the weekday school $35, the Sunday School $10, and the heder $50. Tuition fees, membership dues, and other assessments account for 71 per cent of the money spent on the schools; the remaining amount is provided through gifts. Generous scholarships are available to the poor; in 1928 the students who attended free of tuition were 20 per cent of the total; in 1935 this figure had risen to 32 per cent.

"Jewish teaching [in weekday schools] has become a profession."[25] In the weekday schools in 1934 the average salary was $1,250 for twenty hours of teaching per week, a drop from a salary of $1,650 in 1930. The principalships range up to salaries of $3,500. In contrast with the position of the public-school teacher in New York City, however, the Hebrew school teacher is at a serious disadvantage. He must have more preparation (he teaches the Hebrew language), he has more children to teach, he meets the children after they are tired by a day of school work, he has more classes to meet, almost as many subjects to teach, and half the salary. Two-thirds of the teachers in these weekday schools are men.

In the Gamorand study, referred to above, it was found that in the one-day schools 69 per cent of the teachers were paid; they received an average of $2.88 per session. Three-fourths of these teachers were women. Twenty per cent had had training in professional education courses. Gamorand thinks of this as a poor showing and states that "teachers' conferences are indeed conducted in about 90 per cent of the cases recorded. But what are teachers' conferences in comparison with regular opportunities for instruction?"

The Gentile who views this system of schools from the background of what Protestants have achieved in religious education is impressed by the fact that Jewish religious edu-

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

cation has been taken seriously and that a great deal has been accomplished in providing religious opportunities for Jewish youth. And yet many Jews are quick to recognize the weaknesses of the Jewish schools. Chipkin writes:[26]

> How effective has this [weekday] school been in practice? On the whole, its achievement to date must be rated as very low. Practically every element of the above program of studies has been poorly executed in most schools. . . . What have been some of the shortcomings of this type of school? First and foremost, it would appear that the schedule requiring attendance four afternoons a week and Sunday morning is altogether too burdensome. . . . One of the reasons for this heavy schedule is the emphasis on linguist learning. One might [comparing 1910 and 1935] possibly paint a roseate picture of progress in the present situation. Such a picture would not be justified by the facts. One cannot be very sanguine over the fact that the relative enrollment in elementary Jewish schools in most communities had not reached beyond twenty to twenty-five per cent of the children of school age, or even the optimistic thirty per cent for the country at large. . . . Perhaps the only progress made is in the measure of curtailment of the *Heder*.

The material of this chapter clearly indicates that nongovernmental agencies are not successfully coping with the problem of presenting an adequate education in religion to American youth. There is little reason to hope that such agencies by themselves can ever discharge this essential function.

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[26] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

Traditional Religious Education in Other Occidental Nations

Allusion has been made to the fact that most of the Occidental nations provide for religious instruction out of public funds. This fact is of primary significance for our inquiry. This significance does not rest on any supposition that the public support of religious education has developed in these nations a culture which is superior to the American culture. The relative superiority or inferiority of cultures is a matter so complex and so subjective that satisfactory judgments are impossible. If it is argued, for example, that the much lower crime rate of the European nations in comparison with that of the United States shows the effects of widespread religious instruction, it could very easily be urged in return that Europe's emphasis on religious instruction did not save her from plunging herself and dragging the rest of the world into the depths of two world wars. It is one thing to say that institutions have social effects; it is quite another to point to specific social effects and to assert that they are solely or chiefly the result of the activities of some one institution.

The purpose in outlining here the facts of the organization of religious education in other countries is not to be able to say, "Behold what marvelous things have been wrought by religious education!" The purpose is rather to show that the public support of religious education is compatible with religious liberty; or, at any rate, that Occidental nations, many of which are as much concerned as is the United States about religious liberty, the separation of church and

state, and freedom of worship, consider that the public support of traditional religious education and religious liberty are compatible.

The presentation of this material should not be construed as a subtle argument in favor of transplanting to the United States the European arrangements for religious education. The relation between religious freedom and the support of religious education by taxation is the sole point in question.

The pages which follow will summarize briefly the situation in some of the important Occidental nations. These summaries are condensed from articles presented in the *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932*. Professor I. L. Kandel, editor of the Yearbooks, stated in personal correspondence in 1941, "The articles on religious education presented in the *Educational Yearbook of 1932* of the International Institute are still accurate except for Germany and France." In August, 1943, he wrote, "I have no further detailed information on the status of religious education in Europe." Since our interest is not in the fact that Occidental nations teach religion in the public schools but rather in the fact that they find ways of doing this which they feel do not interfere with religious liberty, our discussion of the methods of teaching religion on the European continent will describe conditions prior to the advent of the Nazis.

England

The English school system appears to the American eye to be as full of inconsistencies as a Kansas cornfield is of grasshoppers. The "public" schools of England are private according to American terminology, and the schools which are "not provided for" by the government have all their running expenses—including teachers' salaries—paid out of public funds. The English people failed to consider education to be a governmental concern until long after the need for popular education was generally recognized by the English public. As a

result a variety of agencies, most of them religious in character, began to provide schools. Chief among these agencies was the Church of England, although nonconformist bodies and Roman Catholics also built many schools. In 1833 Parliament began to make small grants to these denominational schools. It continued to give these grants; the present school system has in fact been built on a foundation of the denominational schools. The result is that in England the secularizing tendency, so prominent in America, has not developed far.

The English government supports two types of schools: (1) the nonprovided schools, the older denominational schools, which are under sectarian control, whose buildings have been built by the sects, but whose maintenance budget is met by the state; and (2) the provided schools, which are completely financed by the state.

Two-thirds of England's children attend provided schools. Religious education in these schools is governed by the famous Cowper-Temple Clause of the education acts of 1870 and 1921, which provides that "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school." This regulation has been interpreted, however, as permitting the teaching of the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. The administration of this undenominational instruction has been facilitated of recent years by the adoption of "agreed syllabuses of Scripture teaching"; all Protestant sects in about two-thirds of the English communities have backed these syllabuses. These efforts to provide undenominational instruction have proved so satisfactory to the nonconformist sects that most of their schools have been turned over completely to government operation, although they could have been continued under sectarian control with the government paying all expenses except building repairs and construction.

The rights of the religious minorities are safeguarded in the provided schools. One regulation permits parents to with-

draw their children from the classroom during the period devoted to religious instruction, and another regulation requires that such instruction shall be given at the beginning or the end of the school day in order to facilitate such withdrawal. Thus in most of the schools religion is taught from nine to nine-thirty each school day. Conscientious objectors among the teaching staff are not required to teach religion; but on the whole the teachers of England value the benefits which are derived from the religious aspects of the curriculum, and thus few of them seek to avoid the responsibility of teaching religion.

The nonprovided schools are controlled by a board of managers which generally consists of two representatives from the public-school authorities and four from the denomination which built the building. Although the state pays the chief costs of the nonprovided schools, it does not exercise close supervision over them; it requires merely that the denominational board maintain a generalized standard of educational excellence. The board appoints the teachers and regulates the curriculum. Religious instruction in the nonprovided schools is thus a major emphasis. The rights of persons who conscientiously object to religious education are protected, however; for none of the schools of England which receive public support can impose a religious test as a condition of entrance, they must all place religious instruction at the beginning or the end of the school day, and they must excuse from attendance at religious instruction those pupils whose parents request it.

Legally there is no reason why any denomination in England cannot set up schools on a nonprovided basis if it can show the local school authorities that the demand for its sectarian teaching is great enough to form a school in which reasonable educational standards can be attained; a school of thirty pupils is considered to be big enough to maintain these standards. The sect must provide the buildings and make

all major repairs. This arrangement appears to be satisfactory to all the churches with the exception of the Roman Catholic, which feels that the public should build the buildings as well as maintain the school. There is no legal reason why a group of secularists could not establish a nonprovided school, although no group has ever sought to establish one.

Most of the nonprovided schools are under the supervision of the Church of England. These Church of England schools do not differ materially from the provided schools; indeed, in many sparsely settled communities they are the only schools available, for, at the time when schools were being established the church and not the state was the active educational agency. The religious curricula of the Anglican schools and of the provided schools are not materially different; thus throughout England there is a tendency for the Anglican schools to become provided schools. This tendency away from sectarian control is reversed among the Catholics; the Catholic nonprovided schools are decidedly on the increase.

Thus in England today there are almost no elementary schools which do not include religion in their curriculum. The English public not only considers that it is desirable to support religious education with public funds but feels that such support is essential to national well-being. This support often amounts to aiding what we Americans call parochial schools. Nor do the British feel that such a use of public funds militates against religious liberty or endangers freedom of worship. And surely the British record in the matter of caring for civil liberties is at least as good as is that of any other major nation.

Australia

Five of the six states of Australia permit or prescribe religious instruction of a nonsectarian character as a regular part of the curriculum of the public school. This effort to provide a type of instruction which the great majority of parents would approve, generally considered in the United

States to be impossible, is surprisingly successful. The subject matter of instruction is chosen from the Bible and stresses its moral teaching. Students whose parents do not approve of such instruction are excused. Five of the states permit the teaching of religion in the schools by the clergymen of the various sects or by other qualified sectarian representatives. In four of the six states instruction in religion is provided by both the classroom teachers and by the sects. In order to make the teaching of the sects more effective there has been formed among Protestants a Joint Council for Religious Instruction in State Schools. The Council opposes the splitting up of Protestant children into denominational groups, seeks to provide a competent teacher for each class, and tries to insure the nonsectarian character of the teaching.

Australia is the equal in size of the United States and has in spots a very sparse population. Yet so effective is the provision for religious education that Australians can boast, "Nowhere in the vast continent of Australia is there a child who need be out of reach of religious instruction if his parents wish him to have it." Nearly 90 per cent of Australian children do receive religious instruction.

Belgium

A large majority of the Belgian nation is Catholic. This fact dominates Belgian educational history. The Catholic party and the Liberal party, with different programs of religious education, have struggled to control educational policy for almost a hundred years, and the relations between the two have not always been happy. A law passed in 1921 provides that schools which receive all their support from public funds, and schools which are "recognized" and partially supported by the *communes,* must offer religious instruction. However, pupils are always exempted from attending classes in religion on the written request of their parents; but such pupils must attend classes in morals. The ministers of religion, or their

representatives, teach the classes in religion, and the instruction corresponds to the faith of the majority of the pupils. In communities where religious minorities are large enough, special classes are formed for them.

Private schools and schools which are partially supported by the *national government* are not required to teach religion. They may offer a purely secular education, provided that they do not attack the religion of the parents of their pupils, and provided that they teach certain moral precepts, including love of country and devotion to national institutions.

Canada

Each of the nine Canadian provinces has separate regulations regarding its schools and each has different, although frequently similar, laws governing the practices of religious education. In general it can be said that in Canada there is a widespread conviction that instruction in religion is an important aspect of education and should be a part of the public-school curriculum. Three types of schools receive public funds: Protestant schools, Catholic schools, and public schools. In Ontario a Protestant or Catholic school may be formed on the application of five resident heads of families; in Quebec a school may be formed for a religious minority provided enough pupils are available to form a reasonably efficient school. In Alberta and Saskatchewan also, public support of denominational schools is permitted. These four provinces contain three-fourths of the population of Canada. Except in the Province of Quebec, which has a large Catholic population and in which there are as official agencies of the government Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish boards of school commissioners, the privilege of forming separate denominational schools is infrequently exercised; for there is a general feeling in Canada that a widespread multiplication of denominational schools is undesirable.

Definite provision is made for instruction in religion in the

public schools of most of the provinces. Reading from the Bible and the use of the Lord's Prayer are permitted in every province and are prescribed in some. Courses in character education, morals, and manners are frequently a part of the curriculum. In Ontario and Manitoba clergymen of the various sects are permitted to give religious instruction at specified hours; the privilege is seldom exercised. Parents who are conscientious objectors against religious instruction are permitted to have their children excused from classes in religion.

Holland

More than half of the schools of Holland are denominational, and their number seems to be on the increase. These denominational schools receive very generous financial aid from public funds, including the payment of the teachers' salaries. They must meet certain detailed, minimum requirements in order to receive this aid.

The *public* schools of Holland are as sternly secular as are the public schools of the United States. Indeed, the "absolute neutrality" of the Dutch public schools toward religion is such that the teacher has frequently felt compelled not only to avoid the mention of God and of Jesus but also to be neutral toward the "spirit of Christianity." In spite of this great effort at impartiality the law requires that in public schools time must be set aside during which clergymen of all the sects can teach religion to their children, "either in the schoolroom or elsewhere."

Norway

The problem of religious education in Norway is greatly simplified by the homogeneous character of the nation; 98 per cent of the population belongs to the state church, the Episcopal Lutheran. Practically all of Norway's schools are public schools, and the basic educational law declares that

religious education is a primary aim of the schools. Religion is taught by the regular teachers, except when a teacher wishes on principle to be excused. Every effort is made to preserve the liberty of conscientious objectors. Any parent who is a nonconformist or who has resigned from the state church can have his child excused from religious instruction. The extent to which Norway goes to protect its small religious minority is interestingly illustrated in the case of the Seventh-Day Adventists, who observe Saturday as the Sabbath, rather than Sunday. Saturday in Norway is a school day. School boards may excuse the children provided the work of that day is made up by special instruction; the boards are even permitted to finance this special instruction.

Sweden

Over 99 per cent of the citizens of Sweden belong to the Protestant Lutheran State Church. With so great a degree of homogeneity there is little difficulty in solving the problem of religious education. All the children of Sweden, without exception, are required by law to take courses in religion. Most of the Swedish schools are public, and religious instruction of the Lutheran variety is a carefully arranged aspect of the curriculum. The small minority of parents who do not belong to the state church may instruct their children in religion at home or they may organize into groups for the purpose of providing religious education; but they must show that they are taking their obligations seriously, or their children will be required to attend the public religious instruction. The state gives no financial support to the classes in religion which are organized by the denominations. It is no longer possible for minority religious groups to establish denominational schools. Under a previous regulation, which permitted the founding of such schools, the Catholics established a school in Stockholm; it is under the supervision of the local school board, but it receives no financial support from the state.

Scotland

The interest of the Scottish public in religious education is evidenced by the fact that 80 per cent of the children of school age attend Sunday School. Almost without exception the Scottish schools—public and denominational—provide religious instruction as a part of the curriculum. The public schools teach Presbyterianism, the dominant faith of the country, except in a few remote regions which were not "reformed" in the sixteenth century and are thus still Catholic. The public schools of these sections teach Catholicism. Parents may withdraw their children from the classes in religion; the classes are placed either at the beginning or at the end of the school day in order that the withdrawal can be made more easily. Teachers are not forced to teach religion, and they fear any religious test for teachers. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of the teachers wholeheartedly support the religious phases of the curriculum.

Denominational schools have been coming more and more under state control. For almost seventy years they have received large grants from the government. In 1918 a law was passed which permitted the managers of the denominational schools to turn over their property to the public-school authorities and required the authorities to accept the property either by sale or lease. The rights of the denomination in the further conduct of the school were, nevertheless, safeguarded by a provision that the appointment of teachers was the joint responsibility of the church and the secular school authorities, and by another provision that the time allotted in the curriculum to religious instruction should not be less than previously. Under the provisions of this law many of the denominational schools have come into the local educational system.

France

The relationship in Republican France between the state and religious education was very like that in the United States.

In France the public schools offered instruction in secular subjects only; the denominations were not permitted to enter the school buildings to teach religion. Pupils could not be sent to the churches for religious exercises except outside of school hours; the one exception to this regulation was that during the week preceding their first communion children might be excused from school to attend to their religious obligations. Parents in France took care of the religious instruction of their children in the manner which seemed to them to be proper. The schools were closed one day a week, Thursdays, in order to give parents ample opportunity to arrange for religious education.

Germany

The schools of Republican Germany, except for a very few private schools, were of three kinds: denominational schools, interdenominational schools, and secular schools. All of these schools were supported and controlled by the state. The denominational schools provided for the education of most German youths. They represented Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and in fact any constituencies which were large enough to insure good educational standards. These schools were not affiliated with the churches. They were public institutions, and their teachers, although members of the same denominations as were their pupils, were public officials selected by the state. Supervision of the schools was along territorial, not denominational, lines; thus it not infrequently happened that Catholic officials supervised Protestant schools, and vice versa; however, in sections where one faith predominated supervisors of that faith were appointed. The function of the supervisors was to improve the *method* rather than the *content* of the instruction, unless material contrary to the interests of the state was taught. Considerable denominational influence was felt in the denominational schools, for the school authorities usually acceded to the desire of the denominations not merely

that specific religious subjects should be taught but also that the entire curriculum should be permeated by a sectarian point of view. Consequently different textbooks were sometimes used in different types of denominational schools.

The interdenominational schools ministered to all sects. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish students all received the same instruction, except in religion, in which case separate classes were organized for each group; this instruction followed denominational lines. Nonsectarian religious instruction was not attempted. Public officials followed the principle of appointing the same percentage of teachers of a given faith as there were pupils of that faith in the school.

The secular schools arose because following the revolution of 1918 many German parents, especially those who lived in urban areas, exercising a newly granted freedom, withdrew their children from the classes in religion. Likewise many teachers renounced church membership and asked to be excused from teaching classes in religion. These pupils and these teachers were formed into separate schools which were officially called "concentration schools for children without religious instruction."

Republican Germany protected the religious liberties of the individual. As has been indicated, teachers were not required to teach classes in religion, and they were put under no professional disabilities if they wished to be excused. Parents or guardians could choose the type of religious instruction which would be offered to their children and could withdraw them from religious instruction altogether. The laws of the various German states usually fixed a minimum number of children for whom a denominational school could be demanded; lacking this number, parents were given the right to demand denominational classes in religion.

CHAPTER V

Some Essentials of Effective Method in Religious Teaching

ONE more area needs to be explored before we shall have presented—all too briefly—the data which must be taken into account in any serious effort to think through the problem of how to provide in America more adequate education in religion. This is the area of educational standards. Many people who today are becoming exercised about the need for religious education have no conception of the difficulty of teaching religion. As a result they propose arrangements which any knowledge of the recent developments in the science of education would show clearly to be inadequate. Any plans designed to influence the basic values of the American people must utilize all the insight that technical education can give, and even then there is but a fighting chance that we shall be clever enough to construct an education which will furnish men the motive power which will preserve democracy in times like these.

The blunt fact is that relatively little is known about how religion can be taught successfully. One factor in producing this situation is that relatively little research has gone into the methodology of effective religious teaching. Many efforts in research today are attempts to answer the relatively trivial questions. Modern scientists have discovered how to get piano keys from cottage cheese, silk stockings from coal, wastebaskets from soybeans. They have perfected zippers and learned how to make plastics out of alfalfa and corncobs. A thousand hours

of research go to the making of such discoveries for every hour that is spent in the effort to discover how better to teach religion.

Research in general education has fared considerably better than research in religious education. The universities and teachers' colleges have turned out an abundance of material on the techniques of teaching the public-school subjects. The psychology of teaching at the elementary level, for example, includes the methodology of teaching language, reading, spelling, handwriting, arithmetic, social studies, nature studies, health, music, drawing, art. The modern method of teaching reading is an excellent illustration of how these techniques of teaching have been improved. Those readers of this book who are approaching middle age were probably taught to read by memorizing the alphabet, then learning to recognize the individual letters, then to recognize words, and finally to recognize phrases and sentences. In an important series of researches it was discovered that reading can be taught to the average child much more efficiently by teaching him, right from the start, to read sentences. The results of this method, which has many refinements, have been to produce a generation which learns to read much more rapidly than did its parents. This improvement in the teaching of reading is but an illustration of the scores of improvements made in teaching as a result of the research projects constantly under way in the professional schools of education. But relatively few of these projects deal directly with the teaching of religion; the vast majority of our teachers are working in the public schools, and thus the teaching of religion is not a part of their responsibility.

Another reason why such a relatively small amount of attention has been given to the problem of how to teach religion effectively is that, amazingly enough, there is an attitude among some of the highest ranking of our teachers, college professors especially, that what has been discovered

about the science of teaching is too meager to deserve their serious study; they look on education as an upstart among the academic disciplines. As a result a great deal of our college teaching is done by persons whose knowledge of their own skill, even though they may be very successful teachers, was obtained by the trial-and-error method, or simply by observing the way in which their own teachers taught. And usually their influence has not been in the direction of fostering basic research in any kind of education, let alone religious education.

However, anyone who fancies that he is competent to make judgments concerning what arrangements will produce effective religious education must have at least a bowing acquaintance with the major tenets of the modern science of education; fortunately, many of the discoveries in the general field can be applied to religious teaching. Laymen tend, by and large, to be naïve in their expectations of the religious school; they expect a great deal from a very little. A brief review of educational standards and of the reasons for setting them up will give some indication of the kind of education which is needed to teach religion and will correct the tendency toward naïve expectations.

Religion is an exceedingly difficult subject to teach. The chief reason why this is true is that the aim of the teacher of religion is so much more extensive than is that of the usual teacher. Most traditionally religious persons would agree that an adequate aim for religious education must include the following.

1. Teaching the knowledge of religion: the facts of religious history, of denominational practice, of Biblical literature, of the various creeds, of the various moral codes.

2. Bringing the student to the acceptance of a sectarian point of view, an *intellectual* assent to the creedal position of the sect.

3. Developing in the student the *emotional* acceptance of

the sectarian point of view—that is, a dedication to the cause for which the sect exists.

4. Living in accordance with this dedication: the eventuation of the educational process in ethical conduct, and in attendance on the means which the sect has developed for helping one to live righteously in this life and to prepare confidently for death.

5. Integration of personality, the culmination of the educational process in a life which is unified about a lofty purpose, one which is in line with the sectarian ideal.

One has but to read this imposing list of aims to recognize that its attainment would be a task fraught with extraordinary difficulty. A reading of the list would also make clear that while many teachers of secular subjects are content to attempt but the first aim, that of imparting information, most religious leaders would insist that the accomplishment of the first three aims would fall far short of the real objective of religious teaching. When we realize how the public schools, with the time, equipment, and trained personnel which are at their disposal, fail in the achieving of less pretentious aims, it is clear that the teaching of religion will seldom be successful unless it makes use of every resource known to modern education.

The skillful teacher so arranges the environment that the student learns quickly and well. Now it is an obvious fact, but one that is frequently ignored, that learning is constantly going on. From the moment of birth to that of death the human being is being molded by his environment, is learning to adjust to the surrounding situation. Some of the people who are unsympathetic toward education look at an obvious proposition like this one and say: "Why waste time with such simplicities?" But most of these same people fail completely to realize the implications of the proposition. If the generalization is true that learning is constantly going on, and it can scarcely be doubted, then a number of startling conclusions follow. The first concerns the number of things

which are learned. Learning is discovering ways of adjusting to environment; thus a person learns, not merely the multiplication table, Latin declensions, and the dates of America's panics, but also how to get along with people, how to use a camera, how to buy a ticket at the railway station, what happens when one takes a package of chewing gum when the clerk's back is turned, and how his family feel about his going to Sunday School. Thus conceived, learning is about the most important thing which one does, and the list of things learned becomes very impressive. Conduct is learned, personality is learned, likes, dislikes, beliefs, loyalties, habits, skills, attitudes, aspirations, all are learned.

Another important conclusion which follows from the generalization that learning is constantly going on is that the schools are but one of the agencies of education. Common sense has always recognized this fact, but of late Americans have been putting so much responsibility on the schools that they have been inclined to blame them for all the weaknesses and failures of children. A child, however, is being educated, he is learning, all his waking hours. He is in school about thirty hours per week, and he is awake perhaps a hundred hours per week. If he starts school at six years of age and continues through twelve grades he has spent at the end of that time less than a sixth of his waking hours at school; if during these same years he has gone regularly to the usual Protestant Sunday School, he has spent in it about one out of every 150 hours. A great deal of his formal education is centered in the school; he learns to read, to calculate, to write there. But his personality, his attitudes, his conduct receive much more molding outside of the school than in it. This fact has an important bearing on religious education; for religious education is particularly concerned with a child's attitudes, his personality, and his conduct. The home, the playground, the club, the street corner, all powerfully influence the child's life.

If learning is constantly going on, then it is not confined to the years of schooling. Obviously, children learn a great deal before they start to school. Anyone who has observed how a baby at one stage of his career learns how to take hold of an object and then several days later must learn how to let loose of it, knows how extensive is the repertory of learnings which an infant must acquire. Anyone who has learned to speak a foreign language knows the task which confronts a child in learning to speak his "native" tongue. Yet, though most persons recognize how much a child must learn, few recognize to what an extent his personality, his character, his attitude toward life are determined before he ever starts to school; some educators have gone so far as to say that these aspects of the self are fixed by the time the child is three years old. Whether this is a true statement of the situation or not, the conclusion cannot be avoided that the learnings which take place in the first years of life are very extensive and important; they form the foundation on which the rest of the child's learnings are built.

Adults also learn. This fact is obvious if learning is defined as the changes which take place in a person in order that he may adjust to his environment. Yet the ease with which adults can learn has only recently been understood. In the past psychologists have assumed, as did everyone else, that "You can't teach an old dog new tricks." William James once said, "We are old fogy at thirty." Yet the facts are quite otherwise; adults can learn. Thorndike has shown that an adult of, say, thirty years of age can learn a foreign language, for example, more quickly than he could when he was twelve. Given equal interest and incentive, adults between the ages of twenty and forty can learn practically anything more rapidly and more easily than they could have when they were between the ages of ten and fifteen. The curve of ability to learn rises rapidly from birth to the early twenties, then it declines very gradually at a rate of about a half of a per

cent per year; a more rapid decline in ability to learn does not set in until at least the age of forty-five and probably much later. Anyone under fifty should not draw back from attempting the learning of anything he wishes to learn for fear that he is too old to master it. In middle life the important factor in learning is just what it was in youth: the vigor, persistence, and confidence with which one attacks a new task in learning.

These discoveries about the abilities of adults are at the foundation of the modern adult education movement and hold very important consequences for the teaching of religion; for by means of adult education in religion parents can be brought to understand the importance of religious training in early childhood and can learn the best methods of teaching religion and character in the home. But the more important aspect of these discoveries is that adults themselves can successfully be educated in religion; in fact, their religious education, whether good or bad, is constantly going on. The world outlook, the fundamental values of adults do change. The first years of World War II gave a striking illustration of this fact. When the draft was first put into operation millions of our citizens resented it deeply as an interference with their basic rights; their life ideals, their religious values did not lead them to look on military service as a privilege, or even as a duty. But within a few months after Pearl Harbor, as a result of forces over which there was little control and as a result of the conscious efforts of the government and of other agencies of public opinion, a rearrangement of the fundamental values of multitudes of American adults had taken place. Morale greatly improved. Millions of young men came to look on military service as their major obligation to society, and most of them fought with great courage. Adults can and do relearn their religion. Clearly the proposition that learning is constantly going on has wide implications for religious education.

Another proposition of the modern science of education, a proposition which is also thought by some of our most highly schooled contemporaries to be excessively simple but whose implications they fail to see, is that learning is an active and not a passive process. The significance of this proposition is seen when one realizes that for centuries it has been assumed that people can learn by being passive, that the mind is a sort of blank tablet on which the teacher can write, or a lump of wet clay which the teacher can mold. A great deal of our confidence in talk, in preaching sermons, and in exhortation, comes from the assumption that students learn by passively listening to speeches. This is a mistake. People learn what they do, and nothing more. Learning is never passive; it is always active. Students do learn from listening to speeches, but they learn whatever they do during the speeches. Waking life is never wholly passive; therefore, the student learns during a speech whatever he is actively engaged in doing; all the members of a group are seldom, probably never, engaged in doing the same thing. Let us assume that a group of children sit, seemingly passive, apparently attentive, and listen to a talk on dental hygiene in which the teacher stresses the importance of brushing the teeth, of drinking milk and orange or tomato juice, and of going to the dentist regularly. During the talk some of the students are thinking about other things; they are learning, perhaps, to daydream while giving the appearance of attention. Others are anxious to get a good grade on the examination which will be given a day or two later and are listening carefully to the outline of the talk, to the phrases used in it, and to its conclusions; but there is no guarantee at all that they will thereafter brush their teeth twice a day, for they have been getting ready to take an examination, and what they have learned to do is to take notes, and to remember phrases. Other students may become very conscious of the problem of dental hygiene, may listen intently to all the suggestions which are made, and at the

conclusion of the talk may resolve to carry them out; these resolves may or may not result in action, and there is no guarantee that such students will pass the examination with a high mark; for they may have been so anxious to learn how to have sound teeth that they neglected to capture the outline and the phraseology of the speech. Still other students may listen to the talk in order to laugh at the teacher after school. The chances are not good that, taken by itself, a speech about dental hygiene will result in learning which carries over into the formation of desirable habits of taking care of the teeth; for one learns what he does, and thus listening to a talk about good dental habits will not ordinarily result in a child's forming the habit of brushing his teeth. To be sure, the talk *may* be very valuable in the establishment of good habits; this result is much more likely to occur if the talk is coupled with a favoring environment: with the proper equipment, and with parental encouragement and direction. Thus talking, sermonizing, exhorting, *by themselves,* are usually not good educational practice, for we learn what we do, and nothing more.

If these statements are an accurate representation of the learning situation, it is unfortunately true that in the average church school it is the teacher who gets the best education in religion; for he is usually the most active. In the more alert religious schools this situation has resulted in the establishment of curricula which stress "activity programs," "learning by doing," "direct contact with objects," "the project method," "life situations," and other teaching methods which put the emphasis on the activity of the pupil. The religious effectiveness of many church schools would be improved by the simple device of getting each religious teacher to ask himself very critically this question: "What are my pupils actually doing during the class hour?"

These observations lead up to a discussion of the importance of what have been called the concomitant learnings, the inci-

dental learnings which accompany the main activity of a learner. For example, a teacher may decree some afternoon that no child may go out to recess until he has mastered the "sixes." As a result every pupil in the room may learn that part of the multiplication table, but some of them may learn also to hate arithmetic, or to dislike the teacher, or to think that schoolwork is drudgery. On the other hand, some may learn that work comes before play, or that arithmetic is "mighty important," or that if you fool away your time you may have to stay inside while the rest of the boys are playing football. A great many of the important learnings in life are concomitant learnings. Probably we learn most of our attitudes, most of our personality traits, and most of our beliefs incidentally and indirectly. The importance of these concomitant learnings for religious education is thus apparent.

Unfortunately, no matter how critically a teacher may study his situation, he cannot be sure just what is being learned. He may hope to teach a given thing and find, if he can discover the truth, not only that he has taught in some cases a very different thing than he intended to teach, but also that many incidental learnings have taken place. We do not have a device for looking on the inside of a personality and seeing what is actually going on; we can but adopt the behaviorist methodology and observe how a person looks, how he talks, how he acts.

Another rather obvious fact about learning is that, other things being equal, an act needs to be repeated in order to be learned. To be sure, if the emotional effect of an activity is very great, going through it but once may be sufficient to stamp it in; for example, the taste of ice cream may be so satisfying to a child that after one cone his liking for ice cream is established. On the other hand, one can look up a telephone number every day and, if he has had no thought of its possible future usefulness, may not have memorized it after a month's time, even though one or two conscious drills

would have fixed it in his mind. Nevertheless, it is obviously true that, other things being equal, the more frequently a thing is subject to repetition the more definite is the learning.

The times when these repetitions take place are important. It has been shown that the mind forgets very rapidly immediately after learning but that a very early review, before scarcely any material has been forgotten, considerably increases the memory span, and that subsequent repetitions further increase the span. Thus, for the most efficient recall the first repetitions of anything must take place soon after the first learning experience, and the length of time between the subsequent repetitions can be gradually increased. If, for example, one studies a passage of Scripture to the point where he can repeat it accurately once, in order to get the most efficient learning he should review it soon after, say two hours later. He should space his next reviews in some such sequence as the next day, two days later, four days later, a week later, two weeks later. By that time he has probably overlearned the passage of Scripture, and if he reviews it once a month for a year and then once a year thereafter he will never forget it. It is frequently said that what is learned in childhood—a poem, for example—is more easily retained than what is learned in adulthood. But the actual situation probably runs somewhat as follows: we are proud of the formal learnings of childhood and give them frequent review; even when we are adults we occasionally repeat them and thus review them and make their retention certain. If we gave our adult learnings as frequent review, we could remember them as well as our childhood learnings. Review is the essential thing. Doubtless there are a few learnings which have been so overdrilled that we could never forget them even without review; but the number of them is probably very small. Twenty-five years ago, for example, I lived for five years on a certain street. I have had no use for the name of this street since and thus have not reviewed it. I do not

now know its name, although I must have used it hundreds of times while I lived there. Thus if the religious school teaches information, or skills, or attitudes, or anything else with the expectation that they are going to be permanently useful it must teach in such a manner that these things are reviewed a sufficient number of times to make a lasting impression, and then it must make provision for still further periodic review.

The implication of this discussion is that a great deal more time must be given to religious education, and religious classes must meet much more frequently than is the practice in the usual American community. It is not short of ridiculous to expect that the extensive learnings which sectarians hope to achieve through religious education can be accomplished in one or two hours a week, or that such a meager amount of time can provide for the kinds of review which are essential if these learnings are to have any significant effect on later life.

Since a person learns whatever he is actually engaged in doing, the problem of motivation is vitally important; for what one does depends to a large degree on his interest. The reactions of a person to a given situation depend on the satisfaction or dissatisfaction which he receives from it. It is obvious that everyone does those things which will in his opinion give him the greatest amount of total satisfaction. Human beings, of course, differ greatly in their likes and dislikes. Some people have had experiences which lead them to feel that they can be happiest in spending most of their lives in digging for the treasures which are to be found in libraries; many others look on this existence as a particularly horrible kind of torment, but enjoy greatly listening to the music of swing bands. People learn to do those things which bring, so they think, the greatest satisfaction, and to avoid those things which bring dissatisfaction. What people actually do in a situation, and thus the actual learnings which take

place, depends in large part on the satisfactions and dissatisfactions which are present.

Educators have given a considerable amount of attention to the question of how to surround formal learnings with satisfaction and, thus, provide adequate motivation for the formal learnings which the school prescribes for students. Many of the means of securing adequate motivation for formal learning are of the so-called *extrinsic* kind; that is, they promise satisfactions which are artificially attached to the activity. Prizes, honors, athletic letters, grades, degrees, praise, censure, discipline, expulsion are means whereby the schools appeal extrinsically to the motives of pupils. A more important and useful kind of motivation, although one which is much harder to utilize, is what is called *intrinsic* motivation, the kind of motivation which inheres in the activity itself. When schools succeed in awakening an interest in music, for example, in order that the sheer joy of playing or of listening may be experienced, then intrinsic motivations are utilized. Such learning carries its own reward and does not depend on a prize or a grade. Such motivation is effective because *insight* into the meaning of the tasks and into the hoped-for results is an integral part of the experience of learning. The reader has but to examine his own past to understand the difference in the ease with which he has learned those things which he thought were going to be of use to him and those things which he thought were going to be of no use but which some oldster told him he had to learn.

The significance for religious education of the problem of motivation lies in the fact that the extrinsic kind of motivation seems to be difficult for the formal religious educator to use successfully; that is, under present conditions. The prestige of the present schools of religion is so low that children generally do not take seriously the pins, the red stars, and the mild censures with which these schools try to buttress their teaching. At present the religious schools must rely for

the most part on the intrinsic motivations—more valuable but more difficult to secure. This fact means that many a teacher who can be successful in the public schools, undergirded as they are by the forces of public opinion and of legal enactment, will fail as a teacher in the present religious schools. For it takes more skill, not less, to teach religion than it does to teach the usual "secular" subject; and present arrangements in religious schools are not conducive to ease of teaching.

The scientist in the field of education has studied with great care the effects of talk, of verbalizing ideas. The person who has never reviewed the results of this study tends to assume that good teaching consists of an instructor talking to or with a class; thus formal religious education puts great faith in verbalizing; in lectures, in discussions, in preaching. This faith is not justified in view of the earlier discussion of the proposition that learning is an active process. For when students listen to their instructors the learnings are probably very wide of the instructor's aims.

As a matter of fact, the successful teaching of concepts or ideals—such as honesty, generosity, persistence—to the point where they successfully function as motivating forces in life is a very complex process. For it is probably true that usually our learnings are very specific in character. For example, one of the things a child may learn in working at a crossword puzzle is that solving such a puzzle requires persistence. If such learning does take place, and there is no guarantee that it will, then whenever he wants to solve a crossword puzzle he will persist in working at it. But there is no guarantee that he will persist in working at jigsaw puzzles. He may have to learn anew that persistence is required to solve this different kind of puzzle. If he continues in this process, solving still other puzzles, and in all of them learning that he must persist in order to solve them, he may at some stage in the learning arrive at the generalization that all puzzles require persistence. But there is no assurance that he will be persistent

in, say, memorizing selections from the Psalms or in running the half mile, even though he would like to succeed at these things. If he can learn that persistence is also necessary to success in these activities, and in still other activities, he may finally come as the end result of a multitude of specific experiences to the acceptance of the life ideal that attainment in most fields requires persistence. To expect such a result to follow from a few talks about persistence is plainly unrealistic.

And yet there is a place for talk. Surely the reaction of some educators who have almost abandoned verbalizing is as unwise as is relying on it almost exclusively. The very nature of the extensive aims of religious education makes it imperative for the religious educator to study with great care the question, "How can religious schools be so conducted that sectarian ideals will be accepted and lived by students?" If there were a pat answer to this question the problem of teaching would not be nearly as difficult as it is. We must realize that most of the generalizations which a student makes are beyond the observation of even the best teachers and are thus beyond their control. Even if the teacher could observe these generalizations in the process of being made, our knowledge of how to control them is, to date, too meager for the teacher to exercise much direction. The scientific study of education is going forward, and it may be possible at some future date for teaching processes to be more exact than they are today. Until that time arrives, however, teachers, parents, pastors in their efforts to develop desirable ideals—concepts and conduct—must expect to fail a large percentage of the time.

In my opinion the most fruitful process through which ideals can be taught is some such procedure as the following:

1. The teacher makes as attractive a statement as he can of the type of behavior which he wishes his class to learn. Let us say that he is trying to teach the ideal of the scientific

method. He may make a speech in which he describes the scientific method as accurately as he can, shows what a boon it has been to man, gives illustrations of its use, and exhorts his hearers to use it in the solution of their problems. But if what we have said about exhortation is true, the speech alone will not result in making ardent users of the scientific method out of the members of the class.

2. Next the teacher will provide an actual experience of the use of the scientific method; this first conscious attempt to put the ideal into practice should be difficult enough to be interesting but easy enough to make success almost certain, for in learning, the satisfaction of success is essential. The teacher helps the class to plan the attack on the problem, being careful that the solution of the concrete question does not become so dominant that the question of the use of the scientific method is obscured. He then provides other problems which require the use of the scientific method. He gives practice and more practice, if possible in doses of graduated difficulty. Nor does he confine his problems to one field but gives as wide a variety of problems as his resources will permit. And always in the midst of the effort to deal with the concrete situation he is careful to point out the principle he is trying to teach: the use of the scientific method; and always he tries to make the experience of using the scientific method a satisfying one.

3. Finally, the teacher will discuss with his class a large number of imaginary applications of the scientific method; he will use what has been called "dramatic rehearsal." He will present problems in a great many different areas, and by means of thought, discussion, writing, he will try to get his students to determine in their own minds just how the scientific method might be applied to the solution of these problems.

Out of this method of teaching will probably come for some members of the class an ideal, the Scientific Method.

which will be carried over into situations which are wholly foreign to the kinds of experience in which the class engaged in their study. One can understand the difficulty of achieving this result when he realizes how some persons who are expert in using the scientific method in some areas fail completely to use it in others. Many brilliant research workers in physics and chemistry, for example, fail utterly to apply the method to, let us say, politics; and some of them even deny that the method is applicable to such a subject.

The difficulty of building up ideals that function in living arises from the fact that generalizing is a very subtle process. Take the effort to build up the generalization "courage" in such a manner that it carries into many realms of life. One can display courage in rescuing a drowning boy, in "bailing out" of an airplane, in singing a song before a thousand people, in refusing to "take a drink." These activities are strikingly unlike one another; the thing which they have in common is subtle, even abstruse—courage. Building up a kind of generalized Courage which will carry into many of life's situations is a long and an intricate process. The many traits of character which religious people think of as essential to the highest living and which it is the object of religious schools to teach can be built up only through this same difficult methodology. The forming of life ideals, the development of generalized experience, has always taken place; but educators are just now beginning to understand the process by which it does take place, and in a very meager way to control it. Our students are going to make generalizations as a result of their learning, but many of these generalizations will be made in spite of our teaching. If we teachers of religion are going to secure the most desired type of learning, we will utilize all the possible methods of instruction: the verbalization of the ideal, the giving of opportunity for satisfying practice, the encouragement of "dramatic rehearsal." And we will repeat the process over and over. Obviously, such

teaching is not possible within the temporal limits imposed by the present religious schools. Such teaching would take large blocks of time and much skill and experience.

This discussion of how to teach ideals has been predicated on the unstated thesis that the religious school is the sole agency which is trying to teach them. This is, of course, an unwarranted assumption. Other agencies are working to teach the same ideals; and other agencies are working to *negate* them. The most expert religious school cannot completely succeed in teaching sectarian ideals if it is but part of an environment some important aspects of which are hostile to the aim of the school. We thus return to the proposition that education is always going on. The total environment determines the educational results. No religious school can do more than partially succeed in teaching honesty in an environment in which dishonesty is frequently rewarded. A most inferior religious school will have striking successes in teaching honesty in an environment in which dishonesty is always punished.

Thus, under some circumstances mere verbalization is all that is necessary, since the environment takes care of the other aspects of learning. For example, the public schools have an essential function to perform in the teaching of the popular idea of "patriotism": they verbalize the concept in songs, poems, and salutes to the flag. The schools need to go no further than this verbalization to achieve almost 100-per-cent results, for American society is organized around the idea that it is the duty of every citizen to give devoted service in the time of the country's need. However, the mere verbalization in schools of the ideal of generosity in handling money would be almost wasted effort, for society tends to be organized around the contrary concept. When schools teach ideals that are generally accepted in an environment, mere verbalization is enough; the less acceptance there is in an environment of an ideal the more extensive must be the arrangements for teaching it.

When one ponders the fact that many sectarian ideals are not widely espoused, he realizes that successful education in these ideals must be an elaborate affair. Thus we see the chief argument in favor of the parochial school. The parochial school is a religious school which is organized around a set of sectarian ideals. It is set in the midst of an environment which may be more or less hostile to these ideals, but it controls a far greater portion of the students' time than do most other types of religious school, and thus it has a much greater chance of achieving the aim of the religious teacher.

The boarding school is in an even stronger position at this point than is the parochial day school. It can control a much larger portion of the student's environment, and thus can develop a *community,* a group of people whose living centers in a given set of ideals.

Many a college is a boarding school which maintains a rather complete direction of the environment which plays on student life. Thus, within the present framework of such colleges it would be quite possible to achieve the sense of community, to set up a specific set of ideals, and to achieve marked success in educating for them. However, such a design is seldom executed in American higher education, because those responsible for the running of any specific college usually cannot agree on what set of ideals to follow. The American college today tends to think of itself as a university, as an institution which gives hospitality to a great many divergent points of view; thus it makes no serious effort to develop the feeling of community in the intellectual sense. Why do not more Protestant institutions of higher learning take sectarian ideals seriously and organize all their educational forces around them—arrange for adequate study, verbalization, and practice, and choose as members of the faculty only such persons as espouse the ideals? The presidents of denominational schools frequently assert that to make acceptance of some sectarian ideal prerequisite to membership

on the faculty would injure the scholarly reputation of the institution. The acceptance of such a point of view is to sell out to the antisectarian definitions of scholarship and of education. Many a minister has thought to improve the quality of his church service by importing musicians who were expert singers but who had no interest whatever in worship; he would have done better to have chosen his choir from the devoted, though perhaps less musical, members of his congregation. Is it necessary, in order to attain the highest scholarship in psychology and sociology, to accept the materialistic presuppositions which so frequently undergird the ideas of the leaders in these fields? It may be necessary to accept these presuppositions in order to be thought well of by these leaders, but the acceptance means that the sectarian college has no really sound basis for existence in the opinion of the very persons who are responsible for its direction.

The educational philosophy of some of our theological schools fails to take into account the values which can accrue from a conscious effort to develop the sense of community. Many of these schools have reacted so far from the notion that piety and enthusiasm come before scholarship that they are now but little more than a string of teachers and students hung together on a thin institutional thread. In such schools the professors frequently live far from the campus and spend most of their time at the seminary in solitary study. It is a serious mistake to assume that the young student of religion does not need the emotional security which membership in a growing community can give. When such communities bring teachers and students together in a mutual search for the deeper academic and spiritual values, the scholarly level of the institution is raised rather than lowered. Fortunately, many theological seminaries do achieve this result.

The quality of the physical surroundings in which the teacher must work is an important item in adequate standards for religious education. It is an obvious fact that, other things

being equal, the better the educational equipment the better the education. Mark Hopkins on the end of a log was not as effective as Mark Hopkins in a laboratory. The conditions under which most religious instructors operate today are such as to bring despair to even the most competent of professional teachers: the noise of bedlam, an atmosphere of gloom, a choice between no fresh air and draughts, lights that are too weak, seats that are too big. The simplest equipment is frequently missing: blackboards, books, storage closets, handicraft materials, toilet facilities, recreation facilities. In view of the difficulty of teaching religion, the equipment which is furnished to the teacher of religion needs to be superb, if anything like the ends expected of sectarian education are to be achieved.

In summary, the proposition needs to be reiterated that most laymen and many professional religious educators are very unrealistic in their expectations of religious schools. If the high aims of religious education are to be achieved a great deal more skill must be developed on the part of religious teachers, much more time must be spent in religious instruction, the school must operate in a superior physical plant. Anyone who becomes a protagonist for a solution of the problem of religious education must think very coldly about the circumstances under which verbalization will be effective, and above all he must study the effect of the total environment.

CHAPTER VI

The Possible Solutions

THE early Americans came from countries where the various religious sects were at one another's throats, countries in which it was believed that those who disagreed with the rulers about transubstantiation or the mode of baptism should be burned for heresy. As a result there was established in America a type of government which guaranteed religious freedom. Any proposed solution of the problem of religious education which challenges this freedom would receive short shrift from the American people. To the person who is considering some of the aspects of this problem for the first time it may appear that some of the seven proposals which are outlined on the following pages directly conflict with religious liberty; the protagonists of each of the proposals, however, believe that if their ideas were adopted religious liberty and the separation of church and state would be adequately cared for.

Underlying all these proposals is the assumption that it is a basic American privilege to establish private schools, and that these private schools can be operated without interference from the state as long as they measure up to certain elemental standards. This right has been clearly enunciated by the United States Supreme Court in the Oregon decision, which was discussed briefly on page 55. None of the proposals contemplates interfering with the existing American system of private schools. Need it be pointed out that the existing parochial schools in the United States are private schools?

The suggested alternative solutions will first be briefly stated, and then the various arguments, *pro* and *con,* will be discussed.

Proposals for the continuance of voluntary support of religious education

1. The American people could continue the present program of religious education with no essential changes but with increased effort to make them effective. The present program assumes that it is the responsibility of the family and of the church, working through instruction in the home, the Sunday School, vacation schools, weekday schools, and parochial schools, to supply the religious education which is necessary to personal and national well-being. This point of view asserts that the present program is adequate in outline and that what it lacks is sufficient zeal to make it effective; that if the churches will put on a great campaign for more support of and more interest in the existing agencies of religious education, we stand a better chance of solving the problem than if we establish new agencies which would meet the same problems the present agencies must face, but which lack the loyalties that long years of labor have built around the present agencies.

2. The American people could continue all present efforts at religious education, and seek to improve them as indicated in the previous paragraph, but put the major emphasis on weekday religious instruction. With a favorable public opinion the schools would doubtless release children for sufficient periods—say a full afternoon each week—to provide for religious education on a basis adequate to insure significant results. This type of instruction is now legal in most of the states and, assuming that there were enough public opinion behind it to make it a financial success, it could be made legal in a short time throughout the nation.

Proposals for public support of religious education

3. The American people could adopt what would amount to a system of parochial schools supported by the state. As has been shown, this arrangement is essentially the scheme of

many of the nations of Europe. This suggestion would not mean that the children of parents who are secular in their beliefs would be forced to go to a school under the direction of some religious sect; for a system of schools with a secular orientation could be established. Nor would it be necessary to have 256 school systems corresponding to the 256 sects in the United States. Though separate schools would have to be established for each sect which demanded it, most of the sects are not represented in most American communities; and, further, in many communities many of the sects would be willing to unite in the operation of a school in order that a high standard of education could be secured. For example, the "fundamentalist" Protestants of a given community might unite to direct a school and the "modernist" Protestants do likewise. Reference has been made to the fact that in Canada, where the denominations have the privilege of forming sectarian schools and of receiving public aid, the privilege is not generally exercised, for the feeling is widespread that a multiplication of denominational schools is undesirable.

4. The American people could recognize that the overwhelming majority of the nation hold in common many religious convictions, and could teach these convictions in the public schools. Catholics, Jews, and Protestants all believe in the Old Testament, have faith in God, say their prayers, and unite in support of a long list of ethical standards. These teachings and practices are not sectarian, for they are the common property of all the sects; the law proscribes in the public schools the teaching, not of religion, but of sectarianism. Let the schools, therefore, teach the core material on which the sects unite and leave to the churches and the synagogues the teaching of dogmas that are really sectarian.

5. The American people could provide for religious instruction in the schools by employing teachers of various faiths and having them instruct during specified periods in the day or week the children of their own faith. The public schools

would be maintained as one system, but for the purposes of religious instruction pupils would be segregated into sectarian classes. In large communities it would doubtless be possible for sectarian schools—not merely classes—to be developed. These schools or classes would not be under the direction of the sects; they would be an integral part of the public system. But they would be religiously homogeneous—pupils and teachers being of the same faith.

This proposal reflects the situation which obtained in some of the schools of Republican Germany.

6. The American people could attempt to distinguish between the teaching of religion and the teaching of the knowledge of the religions and put the latter into the public schools. The teaching of religion—that is, the kind of religious teaching which we now have almost universally in this country, the kind which attempts to proselytize, to instill faith in a given creed, to point out the weaknesses of other creeds, to make good Methodists, or Catholics, or agnostics, or Jews—such teaching of religion is extremely important if children are ever to come to have vital religious experiences, but it should be left to the sects, in the opinion of those who advocate this proposal. But the teaching of the *knowledge* of the religions—the facts of religious history, the literature of the Bible, the dogmas of the various sects (including secularism), the possible philosophies of life—should be attempted by the public school. Such teaching could be done in the same objective spirit as the school teaches any controversial subject —with no effort to win the student to any specified faith but with an effort to give him the various points of view by means of which he can arrive at his own religion. The adoption of this proposal would mean that the present system of sectarian schools would remain intact; this system would, in fact, if its job were to be done adequately, need to be strengthened. For on it would fall the task of securing religious commitment. On the other hand, the task of the sectarian

school would be greatly lessened, for it would be relieved of the burden which it now carries of imparting religious knowledge, an essential aspect of religious education, but one which now consumes so much of the time of the sectarian school that it frequently is prevented from dealing effectively with more fundamental matters. With a lightening of its burden and a strengthening of its resources, it is reasonable to suppose that the sectarian school might accomplish a great deal of what, under this proposal, would be its major task, the bringing of youth to religious commitment.

7. The American people could teach democracy as essentially *religious* in character. The purpose of such teaching would be to bring students to the conviction that democratic ways of thinking and living are a part of the fundamental demands which this universe makes on human beings, whether the universe is conceived in personal or impersonal terms. Democracy, according to this suggestion, can maintain itself in times of stress and strain only if it is believed by those who live under it that the very grain of the universe runs in the democratic direction, that, though societies may choose what type of order they wish to live under, the law of the universe is such that men will live more satisfying lives under democracy than under any other system. The teaching of democracy as religion would need to be the task of many agencies, specifically of the home, the church, and the school. The public schools, however, should be the primary agency of instruction, especially at the beginning of the program. The public school deals sooner or later with most of the population, it is already committed to the ideal of democracy, and it has the resources which make effective teaching possible.

The first proposal: Maintain the present system

Probably few of the professionally trained religious educators in the United States today would favor the proposal to continue the present program of religious education with no

essential changes; for the trained religious educator is poignantly aware of the weaknesses of the present setup. Present arrangements stack the cards heavily in favor of the religion of the secularists, by which I mean the religion of those who oppose the traditional religions and favor a mechanistic philosophy of life. Thus the chief support for the existing situation comes from those who are secularly minded; in fact, they are quite pleased with the existing situation. They want the older religious convictions to die, they see the ineffectiveness of the present sectarian schools, they know that Christianity and Judaism cannot maintain themselves without more effective education, and they are thus quick to oppose any teaching of traditional religion in the public schools. Dean Luther A. Weigle has declared that the situation has developed to the place that "whenever a group or even an individual has chosen to object, on what are averred to be conscientious grounds, to some religious element in the program or curriculum of the public schools, that element has forthwith been eliminated, and no other religious element has taken its place. The movement has been almost wholly negative."[1] President Nicholas Murray Butler points out that "so far as the tax-supported schools are concerned, an odd situation has been permitted to arise. The separation of church and state is fundamental in our American political order, but so far as religious instruction is concerned, this principle has been so far departed from as to put the whole force and influence of the tax-supported school on the side of one element in the population, namely, that which is pagan and believes in no religion whatsoever. . . . The government's indifference to religion must not be allowed to become opposition to religion."[2]

[1] "Religious Education and the School Administration," in *Educational Progress and School Administration,* C. M. Hill (ed.), Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936, p. 329.

[2] *Annual Report of the President of Columbia University to the Board of Trustees,* 1934, pp. 22–24.

For myself, I would be opposed to taking what I have called the "religion of secularism" out of the public schools. Secularism is a way of thinking which many Americans find attractive, and it ought to have its representatives in the schools of a democracy which tries to preserve freedom of religious belief. But I object to an interpretation of the law which makes it illegal for a Christian or Jewish teacher to refer to the fundamental tenets of his faith but which protects the secularist in the advocacy of mechanistic philosophy. The secularist schoolteacher, so long as he does not attack in too bald terms the "sacred cows" of the traditional religions, can advocate his religious position as the only way of thinking which makes sense in the modern day, as the only way of thinking which an intellectually respectable person can pursue. I for one was subjected to more dogmatic indoctrination from secular teachers than I ever was from teachers of the traditional religions. A few shrugs of the shoulders, a few broad smiles, a little banter, and a vigorous assertion of items of secular dogma which immature minds do not readily recognize as such—"Seeing is believing," "If anything exists it can be measured"—and young minds begin to think that in this new and very special day, intelligent men put the historic religions alongside of the primitive superstitions. If we are to have secularism in the public schools, and I trust that I have made clear that I think it should be there, it should not have a privileged position; it should come into the school in the same way that other systems of thought must come in, and be subject to the same controls.

The proposal to maintain the present situation in religious education finds supporters in many sincere Sunday School teachers. They have spent long years working in the present religious schools, have developed a great loyalty to them, and have a deep conviction that increased devotion on the part of religious people to working the program of these schools will make them the effective religious agency which America so seriously needs. But there is no real prospect that the situa-

tion can be improved if the present organization of religious education is maintained. It is not as though serious and long-continued efforts had not been made to develop adequate religious education within the present framework. Very able and devoted men in all of the major sects have given their best years to quickening the educational consciences of their denominations. Yet after a hundred years of experimenting with the Sunday School and after twenty-five years of experimenting with weekday religious education, half of America's youths receive no formal religious instruction. The tragedy is not merely that young people today are not as interested in the institutions of religion as were the youths of other generations, not merely that they do not attend church in as large numbers, nor give as much money. The more serious aspect of the situation is that millions of American youths have never been confronted by either the Christian or the Jewish way of life, have never had an opportuntiy to see in any favorable light the results of Christian or Jewish faith, and have never pondered the rich heritage of any of the historic religions.

The maintenance of the *status quo* in religious education would mean that Catholics must continue to support parochial schools by voluntary means. There are three unfortunate results of this policy: 1. Catholics must endure by reason of religious conviction a double taxation for school purposes; 2. the education provided in Catholic schools is in some important aspects inferior to the education available in the public schools (it must be remembered, however, that Catholics have a profound conviction in the over-all superiority of the Catholic schools); 3. the Sunday School is the agency for the religious education of about half of the Catholic children.

The maintenance of the *status quo* in religious education would mean that large numbers of Jewish children would remain without adequate religious instruction. While the Jews have shown a capacity to conduct very excellent education for

a portion of their youth, they have not been able to achieve a satisfactory coverage.

The maintenance of the *status quo* in religious education would mean that Protestantism must rely on the Sunday School as its chief agency of education. Our brief survey of the Protestant Sunday School leads to the conclusion that it is not an agency which can carry the whole responsibility for the religious education of Protestant youth. Sole reliance on it leads inevitably to a conclusion on the part of the child that religion is one of the less important aspects of life, that religion is a "Sunday complex" which one sheds at nine o'clock on Monday morning. The Sunday School leaves a very large portion of Protestant youth untouched by its ministrations.

The second proposal: Weekday religious instruction

It is probably accurate to say that a majority of the Protestant and Jewish leaders who are professionally trained in religious education look on weekday religious instruction as the solution of the problem of providing adequate religious education for the American people. This type of religious instruction does not raise the question of religious liberty; that question is left exactly where it is today, at a place which seems satisfactory to most Americans. Further, the question of the relationship between church and state is not raised, for the support of this type of education would be voluntary and sectarian. The standards of this instruction could be made equal to those of the public schools.

This proposal can be objected to from two major points of view. First, it cannot meet the aims which religious people expect of their schools of religion; that is, it cannot meet such aims as were set forth in the last chapter. Second, it is doubtful if financial support adequate to make its standards the equal of public-school standards could be secured on a voluntary basis. These two objections will be taken up in turn.

It will be remembered that the educational aims of teachers of religion include the teaching of the knowledge of religion, bringing students to the intellectual and emotional acceptance of the denominational point of view, living in accordance with this point of view, and integrating personality around the denominational ideal. We have seen how difficult and complex the achievement of such aims is. It would be fantastic, in the light of the present educational theories, to believe that two or three hours a week spent in studying religion as a subject in Sunday or weekday schools could develop conduct in line with a denominational ideal or that such study could develop integration of personality around that ideal. Weekday schools afford insufficient opportunities for practice, and they meet the children under unfavorable circumstances, when they are tired at the end of the day.

Furthermore, they tend to make religion just another activity, something which is added to an already crowded juvenile program. Professor Harrison S. Elliott points out that under weekday schools "religion is still something special which people elect just as they might take painting and others study the violin. . . . Teaching religion is something far more basic than can be accomplished in an hour a week for religious instruction, however arranged and however well done."[3]

Yet it is probably true that students could gain some knowledge of religion in weekday schools and perhaps also achieve a measure of intellectual and emotional assent to creeds. If the nation is willing to take such goals as the aim of religious education, probably as much can be said for the weekday schools as for any proposal which is under consideration.

Two studies have attempted to measure the results of weekday instruction; they give a degree of scientific validation to the statement that this type of education cannot be expected to have a major influence on conduct. These studies have

[3]"Are Weekday Church Schools the Solution?" *International Journal of Religious Education* (November, 1940), Vol. 17, p. 9.

not been published, but have been summarized in *Abstracts in Religious Education,* issued in 1934 by the Bureau of Research of the International Council of Religious Education.

Edward R. Bartlett presents "data secured from 1,056 pupils in grades VI, VII, VIII in five public schools in Oak Park, Illinois. Of this number, 638 pupils had received from two to eight semesters of weekday religious instruction. The remaining 418 pupils, who were not enrolled in weekday church school classes, served as a control group." "Attention is directed to the economic and cultural superiority of the community in which this study was conducted and to the fact that this particular system of weekday religious education is ably directed, superior in its teaching staff, and quite representative of Protestantism in Oak Park." On Biblical information tests the weekday pupils scored 13 per cent better than did the non-weekday pupils; on ethical knowledge they scored about 3 per cent better. But "the same proportion of pupils from the religious education and nonreligious education groups (29.5 per cent and 29.2 per cent, respectively) in all probability cheated upon classroom tests. . . . Both membership in Sunday church school and Biblical information appear to be unrelated to honest behavior."

George L. Cutton conducted an "investigation of the effect of weekday religious instruction upon five groups of fifth-grade boys and girls as compared with the results with five similar groups which did not have this instruction." "The results show that definite advantages may be claimed for weekday religious education with respect to religious knowledge and practices but that clear-cut advantages may not be claimed for this instruction with respect to moral attitudes and social situations." The abstract concludes with the statement, so characteristic of studies in the social sciences: "The investigation was not conclusive."

The second argument against the proposal to adopt weekday instruction as the solution of the problem under consideration

is that on a voluntary basis adequate financial support is very doubtful; for there is little prospect that the public conscience of America might be so quickened that it would give, and continue year in and year out to give, the hundreds of millions of dollars which would be necessary to make the weekday program good enough to "equal the standards of the public school." If enough money were donated to provide for a full half day of religious instruction, there is no doubt that some worth-while results would ensue (although not all the results which the churches expect from religious education). It is interesting to note that probably these same results would follow if the churches were to take the Sunday School with as much seriousness as is suggested for weekday instruction and provide for a full half day in the Sunday School. The chief advantage of the weekday arrangements over such an improved Sunday School would be that the weekday school, instead of taking the children all at once, could stagger them throughout the week. Under such arrangements the weekday teachers could be genuine specialists, for they could devote their entire time to the task of teaching religion. Sunday teachers would of necessity have to make their teaching of religion a side issue.

What amount of money would be required in order to provide the pupils now in the public elementary and secondary schools with a half day of religious instruction per week? In estimating this amount let us assume that the most favorable organization, from the financial point of view, is achieved; that would be an organization in which the weekday religious school was in session for five days a week, two sessions per day. Thus the school could handle one-tenth of the pupils per session; this would mean practically a tenth of the school population, since the present experience indicates that in communities where the program has adequate backing most children enroll in the classes. The public elementary and secondary school plant was valued in 1935 at $7,100,000,000.

Thus a plant for religious education which could house a tenth of the school population as adequately as it is housed by the public school would be valued at close to three-quarters of a billion dollars. How much of this plant is now available? Probably very little; for the remodeling of church basements into classrooms would not tend to "equal the standards of the public school." The total expenditures, including capital outlay, for public elementary and secondary schools in 1935 were practically two billion dollars. A tenth of this amount would mean that the churches would have to raise two hundred million dollars each year for the support of the weekday school. In 1926 all the churches of the nation reported an expenditure of slightly more than eight hundred thousand dollars; this amount dropped sharply during the depression. The Catholic Church spends about seventy million dollars a year on its parochial schools. During the 'twenties the Red Cross collected annually about ten million dollars.

The possibility of getting two hundred million dollars annually for religious education by voluntary contributions to the churches is remote. Let the reader consider the public-school budget in his own community and then ask himself what chance there is of securing a tenth of that amount, or a twentieth, by voluntary subscription for religious education. The amounts of money which the religious schools now receive and the willingness of the churches to abandon the newer educational projects in time of depression show that an utterly different temper would have to be created in the public mind if the voluntary support of the weekday school were to be a success. The temper of the public mind is shown by a statement in the report for December, 1937, of the Golden Rule Foundation, which declared that "in spite of an increase of more than 61 per cent in our national income for 1936 over that of 1932 and with a cumulative increase of $48,718,000,000 since 1932, the American public has actually decreased its gifts since 1932 for support of churches by 30 per cent,

general benevolences 29 per cent, community chests 24 per cent, and colleges 18 per cent. Simultaneously expenditures for jewelry, army and navy, whiskey, radio, and beer have soared to increases varying from 25 per cent to 317 per cent."[4] The United States Bureau of Internal Revenue reported in *Statistics of Income for 1940* that the total amount of gifts reported on income-tax returns for that year was 778 million dollars.

Public support of religious education

Before we proceed to the discussion of the remaining proposals it is desirable that we consider some of the issues which underlie the general proposition to provide for religious instruction out of public funds. The first problem which would arise in the minds of many Americans would be that such provision is illegal. Concerning this problem two things can be said. First, the laws of most of the states, as has been pointed out, prohibit not the teaching of religion but the teaching of sectarianism; if a type of religious instruction can be provided which the courts rule to be nonsectarian, it can legally be supported by public funds. That this has actually been accomplished in some states is seen in the regulations providing for the reading of the Bible in the public schools. The second thing to be said is that, granting the existence of laws which make public support of certain types of religious instruction illegal, there is no reason for supposing that these laws cannot be changed if the American people come to a conviction that a better solution of the problem can be found. There is, to be sure, a tremendous prejudice in favor of the present operation of the laws, and it might take many years to effect a change; but an adequate study of the problem demands that we consider all the live options and view the illegality of each in the light of the probable difficulty of securing a change of American public opinion. It would be quite rational

[4]Quoted by John Crosby Brown in the *Atlantic Monthly* (June, 1938), Vol. 161, p. 814.

to propose a program with the expectation that it would take a generation to complete it.

Many people who suppose that the divorce between religion and government in the United States is absolute will be surprised to discover the many ways our governmental agencies find to aid the religious life of American citizens. Public funds go to the support of the army and navy chaplains; yet no one thinks of this relationship as a threat to religious liberty, for soldiers and sailors are not compelled to attend the religious services of any sect not their own, and Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant chaplains are ministering to the armed forces. Similarly, chaplains are made available, through public funds, in penal institutions, hospitals, reform schools, insane asylums, and soldiers' homes. Many state universities give public moneys to the support of instruction in religion and to the support of the religious activities of the campus; frequently this support takes the form of supplying office space, heat, and library books to enterprises which are essentially private in character, but many of these educational institutions have also found ways of making substantial monetary contributions to the religious programs of the campus. The *nonsectarian* character of these programs is, of course, closely guarded and thus the issue of the relationship between government and religion is seldom raised. The most substantial contribution which the government makes to religion is the exemption from taxation of property which is used for religious purposes. This exemption is given to *all* sects, and thus the specter of religious favoritism does not arise.

Public funds also go to aid religious instruction at the elementary and secondary levels. Programs of weekday religious instruction are not infrequently conducted in public school buildings. In an investigation reported in 1928 in *Religious Education,* Ivan G. Grimshaw found that there were at least fourteen communities in ten different states where religious education was a regular part of the public school

program, supported out of public funds. The Institute of Catholic Educational Research of Fordham University reported in 1937 that in 340 American towns the public supports what amounts to a parochial school. (See page 142 for a discussion of this situation.) Incidental financial aid of a variety of sorts is also given to religious schools: for example, in New Mexico and Louisiana, textbooks are supplied to religious schools; in several states public support of the transportation of pupils to religious schools is permissible; the working scholarships made available to needy students through the National Youth Administration were granted to private schools as well as to public schools. These incidental aids to schools which are under religious auspice have frequently been attacked but generally have been judged by the courts to be nonsectarian in character.

The proposal to support religious education by public funds needs to be considered in the light of the general problem of the division between private and public enterprise. I would lay down the fundamental proposition that that nation will be happiest and freest which leaves to individual initiative all possible public services, and which turns over to the government only those services which are both essential and not properly cared for by private enterprise. On the basis of this proposition the government handles only such functions as the population considers to be essential to the happiness and freedom of the nation. Nor does it handle all of these; for many such enterprises are adequately taken care of by private initiative. Farming, manufacturing, and other essential economic functions have been properly cared for, in the opinion of the American public, by private enterprise. There was a time, as we have seen, when public opinion sanctioned the private control of education; public control of education came when the nation lost confidence in the ability of private enterprise. Fire protection was once in the hands of private societies; it is now provided by the government. Public health,

more important than fire protection, is still in the hands of individual enterprise.

We live in a day when the functions of government are being greatly increased; this increase is in general salutary, for individual initiative has shown its weakness in many areas. The three questions which should be asked about any extension of public responsibility are: 1. Is the proposed activity essential to public welfare? 2. Is private enterprise adequately meeting the need? 3. If private enterprise is not meeting the need, is it reasonable to suppose that by any means it can be brought to meet the need? If the propositions which have been stated on previous pages concerning present religious education are accepted, it is obvious that adequate provision for education in religion is an activity essential to public welfare, and that private enterprise is not only not meeting the need but is not likely to meet it. Thus, some type of public support for religious education would seem to be essential.

Not infrequently one hears the statement that the effort to get public support for religious education shows the weakness of the church and indicates that religious education is not very vital or it could support itself. Paul F. Douglass, Chairman of the Committee on Education in the Vermont House of Representatives, states this case:[5]

> The principle of keeping public-school education public is being attacked by the religious interests in the United States with a successful earnestness which is threatening the established doctrine of separation of Church and State. If God has been retired from politics in America, he is being called back by the forces of organized religion. To the anxious, sincere and shortsighted leaders of American churches, the situation which calls for the united pressure group activity of all sects and denominations is serious if organized Christianity is to survive in the United States. . . . "Protestantism," shrieks *The Christian Century*, "is now at the point of discovering that its youth are adrift on the sea of secularism." . . . What is to be done about the "pagan

[5] *Social Frontier*, Vol. 4 (November, 1937), p. 47.

trend of young America?" The Church, Protestant and Catholic, is now united on the remedy [*sic*]. Children must be trained where children are. The School must be the vehicle for the instruction of youth by the Church. The Church must be saved by the School. That such an association of the School and Church, the State and Religion, is contrary to American tradition is apparent to anyone who has even a rudimentary knowledge of our educational history. . . . In its brilliantly generaled campaign for public funds for private schools, the Roman Catholic Church is attacking one of the most entrenched traditions of American educational and political theory. . . . There can be no doubt of the fact that the ultimate form of weekday religious instruction will follow . . . [a program in which] public-school buildings, public-school time, and public-school teachers will instruct children in the "religion of their parents." . . .

The question can be simply stated: "Shall public schools remain public?" They cannot do so in the face of the Protestant insistence upon the development of the weekday program and the Catholic insistence upon aid for parochial schools. . . . When churchmen come to boards of education with actual data and demonstrate that the teaching of religion in the schools is vital for living in the twentieth century world, that the content and method of teaching have a direct effect upon promoting happiness, character, social conduct and the individual and collective virtues, then the time has come for the public schools to consider seriously the teaching of religion as an accepted discipline, teaching it in the public schools on public-school time just as algebra or sociology or other subjects are taught by regular public-school teachers. Until churchmen arrive at this point, there is no assurance that their interest extends beyond the point of making Protestants or Catholics, Fascists or Communists. If they can arrive at such a unity of program and purpose and demonstrate the vital need of the teaching of religion as an objective and recognized discipline, then the time has come for the public school to think seriously about religion. *The burden of proof that historic religion is a unifying and constructive social force promoting human happiness is on the churchmen.* (Italics his.)

It is probably true that the Protestant churches in America today are experiencing a period of decline; if religious history repeats itself, and it has done so frequently, these churches

will one day receive a new orientation and revive. But today Protestantism shows little capacity to care for the religious education of its millions of youth. The synagogue is in a somewhat stronger position. Catholicism apparently has sufficient concern over education to care for about half of its youth. Now since the religious bodies are in this condition, is the religion of the nation of so little concern that we can afford to let the present haphazard arrangements continue? The suggestion that we can usually comes from the religiously illiterate, from persons who have never themselves experienced the values of mature religious instruction or who have been subjected to a kind of religious instruction against which they have violently reacted. The decadence of religion is of primary concern to the state. For the religion of a people sets the tone for their culture; a civilization cannot rise above its source, and its source is always found in the kind of ideals and motives which actuate its people. If it can be demonstrated that the forces which care for any vital concern of a state are falling down on their job, then the state itself must in its own interest care for that concern.

A great many Americans would oppose any effort to support religious instruction from public funds because of their fear that it might mean a return to the domination of the state by the church. They say that if we let the camel's nose into the tent, before long we may find our children taught and our lives controlled by narrow sectarians who are convinced that their way of life must be forced on all citizens. America's experience with the Ku Klux Klan is fresh in the memories of many; it is thought in some quarters that the Catholic Church wants to establish control of the nation, and that she will stop at nothing.

The danger that some religious sect could dominate a section of the country is not remote. American history gives evidence that sectarians have controlled many sections, frequently in their own interest, and to the detriment of other

religious bodies. Yet the danger that any sectarian group could gain control of the nation as a whole is indeed remote. We are so diverse religiously that if any one body seemed likely to gain control, all other bodies would unite against it. The chief fear is of the Catholic Church; no proposal to provide for religious instruction out of public funds will get very far until the Protestant and Jewish groups are convinced that the Catholics of the nation would not take advantage of such a situation to gain an undesirable influence over public education. The experience of the European nations at this point, many of which are predominantly Catholic, should be reassuring; for all of the nations whose programs of religous education were outlined in Chapter IV provide for the religious liberties of minorities.

The chief cause of the Protestant and Jewish alarm over the Catholic attitude arises, when it does not stem from the nativist movements or is not trumped up for purposes of journalism, from the frank proclamation by the Catholic Church of its faith that it is in possession of the Truth and that it cannot tolerate error. For example, Pope Leo XIII in his *Encyclical Letter on Law and Liberty* wrote as follows:

> There can be no doubt that truth alone should embue the minds of men; for in it are found the well-being, the end, and the perfection of every intelligent nature; and therefore nothing but truth should be taught both to the ignorant and to the educated, so as to bring knowledge to those who have it not, and to preserve it in those who possess it. For this reason it is plainly the duty of all who teach to banish error from the mind, and by sure safeguards to close the entry to all false convictions. . . . Now truth, which should be the only subject matter of those who teach, is of two kinds, natural and supernatural. Of natural truths, such as the principles of nature and whatever is derived from them immediately by our reason, there is a kind of common patrimony in the human race. On this, as on a firm basis, morality, justice, religion, and the very bonds of human society rest; and to allow people to go unharmed who violate or destroy it would be impious, most foolish, and most inhuman. But with

no less religious care must we preserve that great and sacred treasure of the truths which God Himself has taught us. . . . Thus it is manifest that man's best and surest teacher is God, the source and principle of all truth. . . . In faith and in teaching of morality, God Himself made the Church a partaker of His divine authority, and through His heavenly gift she cannot be deceived. She is therefore the greatest and most reliable teacher of mankind, and in her dwells an inviolable right to teach them.

Another liberty is widely advocated, namely, liberty of conscience. If by this is meant that every one may, as he chooses, worship God or not, it is sufficiently refuted by the arguments already adduced.

George Seldes declares that the *Syllabus of Errors* of Pius IX "holds it an error that 'every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true, guided by the light of reason'; an error that 'the church has not the power of availing herself of force, or any direct or indirect temporal power'; an error that 'Protestantism is nothing more than another form of the same true Christian religion.' "[6]

The logic of these blunt statements by recent heads of the Catholic Church is that if Catholics came into power they would proscribe the liberties of the American people and not permit "that every one may, as he chooses, worship God or not." Yet I do not see how any rational man who is acquainted with any large number of American Catholics, or who knows something of the record of American Catholics in politics, can doubt for a moment that these statements do not represent the position of the Catholic group in this nation. Seldes admits that "it is a fact that American Catholics—and only Americans—claim that the *Syllabus of Errors* is not a law for members of the Church in any part of the world."[6] Catholics have a deep loyalty to the Catholic religion; but they also have a deep loyalty to the "American religion" (although they would not express it that way). A major tenet of the "American

[6]George Seldes, *The Catholic Crisis*, Julian Messner, Inc., New York, 1939, p. 331.

religion" (as I use the word *religion*) is that freedom of conscience, of worship, is every man's right. The American Catholic considers that the Pope when he speaks against such freedom speaks politics, and is out of his field. Alfred E. Smith, former candidate for President of the United States, in replying to a direct Protestant challenge, summed up the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the Catholics of this country. In framing his statement he had the assistance of leading members of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States:

> By what right do you ask me to assume responsibility for every statement that may be made in any encyclical letter. . .? I believe in the worship of God according to the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church. I recognize no power in the institutions of my church to interfere with the operations of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land. I believe in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in equality of all churches, all sects, and all beliefs before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor. I believe in the absolute separation of Church and State and in the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . . Archbishop Dowling, referring to any conceivable union of Church and State, says: "So many conditions for its accomplishment are lacking in every government of the world that the thesis may well be relegated to the limbo of defunct controversies." . . . As Cardinal Gibbons said of the supposition that "the Pope were to issue commands in purely civil matters": "He would be offending not only against civil society, but against God, and violating an authority as truly from God as his own. Any Catholic who clearly recognized this would not be bound to obey the Pope; or rather his conscience would bind him absolutely to disobey, because with Catholics conscience is the supreme law which under no circumstances can we ever lawfully disobey."[7]

Archbishop John Ireland in an eloquent address delivered before the Twelfth Annual National Convention of the Federation of American Catholic Societies in 1913 stated this same position:

[7] *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 139 (May, 1927), pp. 721–728.

My religious faith is that of the Catholic Church—Catholicism, integral and unalloyed—Catholicism, unswerving and soul swaying—the Catholicism, if I am to put it into more positive and concrete form, taught by the supreme chieftain of the Catholic Church, the Bishop, the Pope of Rome.

My civil and political faith is that of the Republic of the United States of America—Americanism, purest and brightest; yielding in strength and loyalty to the Americanism of none other American; surpassed in spirit of obedience and sacrifice by that of none other citizen, none other soldier; sworn to uphold in peace and in war America's Star-Spangled Banner. . . .

Between my religious faith and my civil and political faith, between my creed and my country, it has been said, there is discord and contradiction, so that I must smother something of the one when I bid the other burst forth into ardent burning, that I must subtract something from my allegiance to the one when I bend my full energy to service to the other. Those who so speak misunderstand either my creed or my country; they belie either the one or the other. . . . No room is there for discord or contradiction. Church and State cover separate and distinct zones of thought and action. . . . They know us little who accuse us of coveting civil and political power. There is in America no Catholic political party, nor should there be.[8]

It may be the *logic* of the statements of some foreign Catholic prelates to deny religious liberty to all non-Catholics but it is not the *psychologic* of the American Catholic position. Protestants and Jews are showing concern today over the increasing influence exerted by Catholics in national affairs. It is pointed out that most of the ranking chaplains in the armed forces are Catholics, that the United States has sent an ambassador to the Vatican, and that in movie, magazine, and newspaper the Catholics receive a kind of deference which is denied other sects. Non-Catholics should remember that the political influence exerted by the Catholic Church and the publicity it receives were not achieved by accident; they are the result of careful planning and organization. If Protestants will learn

[8]John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics,* Macmillan, New York, 1940, Chapter 24.

to put aside their differences and unite behind the Federal Council of Churches, they too can receive greater attention in the press and in the government.

Concerning the number of high-ranking Catholic chaplains, it needs to be observed that the pacifist movement has won many more adherents among the Protestant clergy than among the Catholic clergy. A large number of leading Protestant clergymen are pacifists. Protestantism cannot have its cake and eat it too.

It is no doubt true that in some predominantly Catholic sections the hierarchy has exhibited rather bad manners toward non-Catholics. But in the nation as a whole the manners of the Protestant groups toward Catholics have been worse. The Catholics have been more sinned against than sinning. Happily, both groups are beginning, under the leadership of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, to make serious efforts to improve the situation.

It is further argued that the possibility of our nation going Fascist, a danger which must frighten all but the most casual observers, increases the undesirability of establishing any connection at this time between the state and religious education; for with such a serious break in the wall which now lies between the church and the state, if totalitarian forces came into power they would quickly demolish any semblance of free religion and demand a kind of belief and worship which would further the designs of the state. It would be far better, according to the argument, to maintain our present rigid divorce of religion and government, in the hope that in time of crisis religion can be preserved from political domination.

The argument against this position is that if totalitarianism once gets into the saddle, free religion will be destroyed anyway and we had better bend all our efforts to preventing such an eventuality from coming to pass. An adequate program of religious education would be one of the best defenses against totalitarian propaganda, and if an adequate program

can be secured only by the public support of religious education, we will have to take the risk which such support would entail. Life cannot be lived on the basis of no risks; adequate living is largely a process of appraising risks and of being clever in choosing the lesser ones.

The third proposal: The public support of parochial schools

We are now in a position to consider the merits and demerits of establishing a system of publicly supported parochial schools. Americans generally do not look with favor on this type of education; and yet a strong case can be made for it. As we have seen, the adequate teaching of religion demands more than the memorizing of copybook maxims; it requires living in a kind of environment in which the practice of these maxims brings satisfaction. Now the parochial school is in a position to produce for children this sort of educational environment. The parochial school is taught by persons who are personally devoted to religious ideals and who are giving by their personal lives a rich example of what religious consecration can do. It is run on the principle that religion is more than just another subject in an already overcrowded curriculum; religion permeates the activities of the entire school, and it generates a spirit which can dominate the communal life and encourage spiritual and moral growth. Dr. George Johnson's article states the case:[9]

> To attempt to make children and youth conformable to the image of the Savior by means of some occasional religious instruction and then teach them the arts and sciences in conformity with the spirit of the world is to court failure. It suggests to the impressionable mind of the child that religion does not really matter in the same way that other things matter. He does not see it entering into the warp and woof of life and unless a man's religion does enter into the warp and woof of life it has little more than emotional or pietistic value.
>
> In the Catholic school, religion is not regarded as just one

[9] Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

branch in the curriculum. It is not confined to mere religious instruction. It is the foundation, the heart and soul of all other disciplines. Nor does it limit or circumscribe these disciplines in any way; on the contrary, it reveals their true values and affords the learner a rational basis of integrating them and through them achieving a dynamic and inclusive philosophy of life. . . .

The parish is an excellent unit for local school administration, because it is a real community. It organizes the families that compose it into a truly vital union. In it center the most important and sacred affairs of life, and the bond that holds it together is fashioned of elements that grow out of the deepest of all human loyalties. . . .

After all, the parish is a neighborhood, and neighborliness is characteristic of all its activities. For initiating children into the art of living happily together and making them aware of their duties and responsibilities to others, for giving them immediate and first-hand experience of the satisfactions that are born of loving one's neighbor as oneself, the parish school has unrivaled potentialities. . . .

If all these claims are true, and there is no theoretical reason why they should not be true, then the parochial school is the first of the proposals which, if properly administered, could measure up to the educational standards which have been stated as essential to effective religious education. The parish school is in session long enough to have a profound influence on the child; and, what is of much more importance, it is integrated around a religious ideal. This integration makes it much more probable that a kind of conduct will be developed which is in line with the sectarian ideal, and, further, that a generalization of this conduct will be developed to the extent that it will transfer into many nonschool situations.

If such schools were adopted on a nation-wide basis and were supported by public taxation, the permanent support of religious education would be assured and the maintenance of certain fundamental educational standards could be demanded.

There are, however, serious considerations against the adop-

tion by the American people of the publicly supported parochial school. First, there is every reason to believe that many sects would take advantage of the privilege of establishing their own schools. The moment public funds are voted to Catholic schools we can look for Protestant and Jewish demands on the public treasury. When in 1853 the Catholics of Detroit petitioned the legislature of Michigan for public support of their parochial schools, the petition was opposed by a counter-petition written by Samuel A. McCoskry, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan, in which he said:

> Such application (if granted) he considers as giving the right not only to parents, but to every religious body, to select teachers who will teach the peculiarities of the religious views or opinions they may hold. It will place the school fund of this State in the hands of religious bodies or sects, and entrust to them the education of the children of the State; for the right, if given to one, will be claimed by each and all. . . . If then such a change is to be made in our common-school law, so as to allow parents to choose teachers for their children, the undersigned would respectfully ask for his portion of the common-school fund, so that the people entrusted to his spiritual oversight may employ such teachers as will fully carry out their religous preferences.

The establishment of parochial schools by many religious groups would destroy the present public-school system and put in its place a series of competing and, on present standards, inferior school systems. There is every likelihood that such a setup would greatly increase religious prejudice and would effectively destroy the unity of the American people; for if boys and girls were actually to be successfully educated on the principles of the competing sects in isolation from the children of other sects, the life philosophies of Americans would tend to be at odds. Then the mere fact of working in the same office with persons of other sects or the fact of belonging to the same golf club would not prevent fundamental conflicts of aim and purpose. Such conflicts would make us

easy prey for totalitarian revolution. Continued national life is possible only because of the possession of a common culture. A unified educational system, one in which there is ample freedom for conscientious objectors to establish other systems at their own expense, is the only effective means whereby modern nations can secure unity of culture.

Another objection to this proposal is the improbability that in any predictable future it could receive the support of even a bare majority of the American people. This is a serious weakness. Probably all five of the proposals which ask for public support of religious education must face this problem. The last three of these proposals, however, have a fair chance of being accepted by the American public, if they receive the approval of the leaders of the strong sects. Yet the voters of the nation as a whole are so convinced of the importance of the public school that it would appear foolish to spend much time in the effort to persuade them to adopt a series of parish schools. However, since we place the primary control of education in the United States in the hands of the local community and since communities differ greatly in their political and religious thinking, it is not impossible that many local school administrators and many pastors and rabbis will find this to be the effective solution of the problem. This solution has already been adopted in a few localities. In Vincennes, Indiana, for example, the heads of the parochial schools in 1933 notified the board of education that because of lack of funds the Catholic schools would not open in the fall and requested that the town make provision for eight hundred Catholic pupils. Since the public-school buildings could not house such a large additional number of pupils, arrangements were made to use, free of charge, the buildings owned by the Catholic Church. Furniture, heat, light, water, and janitor service were also provided by the Catholic Church.

The board of education employed teachers duly certified by the state, installed the regular public school curriculum, pro-

hibited sectarian instruction and furnished regular supervision by the superintendent of schools and the director of elementary studies. The teachers thus employed were members of the Catholic religious orders, chosen upon the recommendation of Catholic institutions of higher education and wore the characteristic garb of their orders while engaged in teaching. The pupils were those who had previously attended the parochial schools. Each of the three buildings concerned was in proximity to a Catholic church, a rectory and a sisters' home. . . . It was the regular custom for all the pupils to assemble in the near-by Catholic church each morning a half hour before the opening of the public school for a period of voluntary religious instruction.[10]

This arrangement was continued until 1939. A taxpayer's action in the state courts to recover the amount which was paid by the town of Vincennes to support these schools was defeated.

That this incident is not the only one of its kind is clearly shown by a study summarized in the New York *Herald Tribune*.[11]

About 340 Catholic public schools, conducted jointly by parochial and public authorities, are in operation throughout the country, it was disclosed in a survey made by the Institute of Catholic Educational Research of Fordham University. The compromise arrangement between State and Church educators was reported satisfactory to both in 97 per cent of the cases studied.

The Rev. James T. Cronin, director of the Institute, and Frances Donohue, assistant in education at the Fordham University Graduate School, collected data during the present scholastic year from 140 of the schools. Objections were expressed by the local school board and by the general public in only one instance, said Dr. Cronin. Religious superiors had complaints in 3 per cent of the cases.

Public funds were used to pay the teaching staff in each case, and 500 of the 632 employed were members of religious orders. The Catholic authorities were permitted to nominate teachers

[10]M. M. Chambers, "Public and Parochial Co-operation," *The Nation's Schools,* December, 1940, p. 61.

[11]New York *Herald Tribune,* April 25, 1937.

but final approval rested with the public school board. Salaries averaged $623 a year, ranging from $250 to $1,350.

The Catholic public schools were substituted for other local educational institutions in most cases, and children of other denominations were enrolled. The class day began with attendance at mass or the recitation of a common prayer in all but 3 per cent of the schools. Many of the schools have been working on the arrangement since before 1900, while one has been run by combined civil and religious administration since 1934, Dr. Cronin said. The 140 were in seventeen states.

Statutory regulations in most cases made it necessary to postpone religious instruction until after the regular school hours. The arrangement required about a 70 per cent increase in local and state school board supervision over the choice of the textbooks and curriculum, and it was this phase of the agreement with which some Catholic school officials were at odds.

Despite occasional objections, the compromise had been "almost universally satisfactory," said Dr. Cronin, "since the arrangements were based on a spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding."

More than 18,000 pupils were enrolled in the 340 schools included in the survey, less than 3 per cent of them non-Catholics.

The fourth proposal: Teach traditional religious beliefs in the public schools

Willis A. Sutton, superintendent of the public schools of the city of Atlanta, writes, "Let's teach religion in the public schools," and argues that it

> "can be taught without danger of creating . . . sectarian prejudice. . . . For, basically, religion is concerned with two fundamental ideas or experiences; first, man's relationship to God, and, second, his relationship to the universe about, including his fellowmen. . . . We can help each youth of the nation to become aware that there is something bigger than himself. . . . When the schools have taught this fundamental idea of the existence of God, of a Supreme Being who, in the definition of multitudes, is omnipotent, omniscient, all-merciful, all-loving, and just, who presides over the destinies of men, they have given a firm anchorage to youth.[12]

[12] *International Journal of Religious Education,* Vol. 17 (November, 1940), p. 12.

Conrad A. Hauser states essentially the same point of view:

> Over nine-tenths of the population are included in the ten major denominations. And these ten groupings also include the three major faiths, Jews, Catholics and Protestants. *What these three major faiths have in common* [italics his] is that they hold to a theistic-humanistic type of religion: a religion that takes into account both its Godward and manward side. All three faiths believe in the twofold Biblical injunction, "thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself." . . . It is important to note that this common element is *not a choice between* the theistic *or* humanistic element in religion. It is not an "either or" but a *"both and."* . . . By the rule of majorities, theistic-humanism may be considered the religion of the democratic majority. Conceived in this way the religion of this nation contains an element that unites rather than separates us. Here then we may look for the legal basis for the teaching of nonsectarian religion in the public schools.[13]

W. S. Fleming goes even further, proposing the teaching of Christianity in the public schools; he quotes the Supreme Court to show that "this is a Christian nation." He reiterates that the law forbids the teaching of sectarianism but permits the teaching of religion. Now, since this nation's "builders chose to make this nation Christian" the teaching of Christianity is not sectarian. American legal decisions reveal that "religious doctrines are those on which the Christian sects agree. Sectarian doctrines are those on which Christian sects do not agree." Therefore, teaching Christianity in our schools would not be a sectarian practice, and the Jews would have no justification, legally, for considering it as such. "The religion we put into our schools must be Christian religion, the religion of this nation."[14]

To my mind these proposals are highly inadequate and deserve but little attention. In the first place it is not true

[13] *Teaching Religion in the Public School,* Round Table Press, 1942, pp. 6–7.

[14] *God in Our Public Schools,* The National Reform Association Pittsburgh, 1942.

that "over nine-tenths of the population are included in the ten major denominations." (Nine-tenths of the *church members* are in the ten major denominations.) The *Yearbook of American Churches,* 1943, shows that the religious bodies had in 1942 but sixty-seven million members of all ages; but the Bureau of the Census estimated that there were 134 million persons in continental United States in that year. Thus about half of the population are not church or synagogue members.

Probably it is true that the overwhelming majority of Americans believe in God, though my observation leads me to believe that while the atheists are few, the agnostics are by no means negligible in numbers. Now the religious liberty of the atheist, the agnostic, the secularist, the church-hater, is just as precious as that of the evangelical. If Christianity and God are taught (in the usual meaning of "teach") in the public schools, this religious liberty is destroyed. A proposal more unconstitutional or unwise could hardly be devised—nor one more unlikely to be adopted. Its adoption could only be the result of a fight which would negate all sense of community between Christians, Jews, and secularists, and which would rival for bitterness any conflict in our history, excepting only the Civil War itself.

The fifth proposal: Religious instruction in the public schools by teachers of pupils of the same faith

Those who favor this proposal urge that within the public-school system pupils be divided for purposes of religious instruction into sectarian groupings—classes or even schools—and that these groups use the same curriculum, except in the teaching of sectarian religion, in which case each group would be taught the dogmas of its own faith by teachers approved by the denominations but selected by the public-school authorities. This scheme would disturb the present setup but little, would insure the stability of public support for religious in-

struction, would maintain the unity of the present system of public instruction, would provide professional teachers of religion, and would make it possible for all children, except those whose parents are conscientious objectors to the traditional religions, to receive the benefits of sectarian instruction. Such children could be instructed in secularism.

Such instruction would be essentially an improved type of weekday religious education. For the instruction would be under the direction of the sects, and it would provide for the teaching of religion as a subject added to the curriculum, but not, as is possible in the parochial school, as a spirit which pervades the curriculum. This type of program would be superior to weekday instruction in that it would be paid for by public moneys, would be under the supervision of the public-school authorities, could be given adequate time, and could have standards the equal in every way of those of the public schools.

This scheme was proposed by Alfred J. Talley, president of the Catholic Clubs of New York City, in a four-point program, as follows: 1. half-hour courses in religion at the beginning of each school day; 2. assignment of children to classes in the religion of their parents; 3. instruction, not by clergymen, but by teachers examined by the Board of Regents in accordance with the standards approved by the religious authorities in the individual faiths; 4. enrollment of children whose parents oppose instruction in any of the historic religions, in a course in ethics.[15]

Such a program would fall far short of providing a kind of education which would meet the rigorous standards necessary if the aims generally set for religious education are to be attained. The simpler aims of religious instruction—teaching the knowledge of religion and bringing pupils to the intel-

[15]A. J. Talley, "The Religion of Our Youth," *Proceedings of the National Catechetical Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine,* 1937, St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, N. J., p. 82.

lectual acceptance of the sectarian point of view—probably could be achieved by such a program. But taken by itself it could not be expected to produce either desirable character or integration of personality; for the amount of time devoted to religious instruction would not be sufficient to provide the practice necessary for the development of conduct patterns; and, further, since religion would be but another subject added to the curriculum, the school environment would lack the religious integration which would make possible the efficient production of personalities integrated around a religious ideal. And yet these considerations do not mean that this proposal is not a live option. For it may be that if this scheme were adopted, and if the present sectarian schools were to continue on as efficient a plane as possible, working together they could produce results of considerable significance. I feel that this would surely be true if to these efforts were added an integrating program such as that which is outlined in the next chapter.

It would probably be much easier than most people suppose to get public support for this scheme. If it were seriously proposed by some governmental or ecclesiastical body, a storm of protest would immediately follow. But the leaders of the larger denominations of the nation might quickly see that this plan preserves the religious liberty of the sect and provides for more adequate religious instruction. If the sectarian leaders did come to see this and united in advocating such a plan it would surely carry the nation. Our religious leaders have no one to blame but themselves for the deplorable state of religious education; for the political potency of the united religious forces of the country is overwhelming. Archbishop Ireland phrased the situation neatly when he said: "In our fear lest Protestants gain some advantages over Catholics or Catholics over Protestants, we have given over our schools to unbelievers and secularists."

A serious objection to this proposal is that it would prob-

ably greatly increase the already marked prejudice among the religious sects. Such an increase would put at a still further disadvantage the members of the religious minorities, who already must work under alarming disabilities. It is of course possible that a sectarian public-school teacher could be trained who would be very conscious of the problem of religious prejudice and who would so teach his subject as to decrease, rather than to increase, religious prejudice. But if such teachers were developed, a rather fundamental reorientation in sectarian thinking would be necessary.

There is a school of educational thought which would oppose the inclusion of religion in the curriculum of the present public school on the basis that all controversial problems must be kept out of public education. This kind of thinking emanates from administrators who are more concerned that all men should speak well of them, and that thus they should hold their positions, than that the schools should make vital and significant contributions to American culture. The going educational philosophy is that the school should avoid all the hot issues. As a result the schools are full of textbooks on physiology which ignore the sex organs, of textbooks on government which do not mention the Communists or the Socialists, of textbooks on sociology which ignore the church and the synagogue. Dean Luther A. Weigle tells an amusing story of how "in the fall of 1928, amid the hot partisanships of the Hoover-Smith Campaign for the presidency of the United States, the superintendent of schools in one of our cities was able only by the exercise of the utmost tact and ingenuity to prevent the passage of a resolution offered by an irate member of the board of education: 'Resolved, that no teacher in the schools of this city shall ever express any opinion on any controversial subject.' "[16]

But an even more extreme illustration comes from France.

[16]C. M. Hill (ed.), *Educational Progress and School Administration,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936, p. 329.

A French writer describing the French educational system declared that

> Jules Ferry [in about 1880] wrote the following famous letter to the primary schools, the words of which are still remembered by all French teachers: "If at times you are puzzled to know just how far to go in your moral instructions, here is a practical rule to guide you. Whenever you are explaining a precept or a maxim to your pupils, ask yourself if there is a single good man in your acquaintance who might be offended by what you are going to say. Ask yourself if a father of a family, even one, who if present in your class and listening to you, might in perfectly good faith refuse to agree with what he heard you say. If so, refrain from saying it; if not, speak out boldly."[17]

Any institution which shackles itself with such absurd restrictions, supposedly in the interest of its own perpetuation, is bound ultimately to come against the hard fact that the human mind will not give deep allegiance to institutions which dodge the fundamental human concerns. As an institution the school is in the ascendancy today; but other institutions, apparently even more secure, have finally failed in public esteem and support. Religion is a controversial issue; that fact is one of the chief reasons why the school should deal with it. If the school were to favor any one religious sect, the school would quite properly be condemned; but the proposal under consideration provides for instruction in all of the religions.

The sixth proposal: Teach the knowledge of religions in the public schools and sectarian religion in sectarian schools

This proposal urges that a distinction be made between teaching religion and teaching knowledge of the religions. The phrase "to teach religion," as it is customarily used in the United States, means to inculcate with sectarian ideals

[17]Felix Pecant, in *Educational Yearbook,* 1932, I. L. Kandel (ed.), p. 190.

and beliefs. Ordinarily an instructor, when he "teaches religion" at the elementary or secondary level, and frequently at the collegiate level, endeavors to bring students to accept the truth as he sees it, he tries to bring them to see the Jewish, or the Catholic, or the Protestant, or the secularist faith in its most favorable light and to accept it as a way of life. Now, in my opinion, this kind of teaching is an essential aspect of effective religious education. For the contagion of a living example is usually necessary before the average person can adopt one faith from among the many that call for his allegiance. Those persons who favor the proposal now under consideration urge leaving this type of teaching where it is today, in the hands of the sects.

But there is another kind of religious instruction which is also essential to maturity in religion; I have called it teaching the knowledge of the religions. There are certain religious facts which are a vital part of the American culture, without a knowledge of which no person can be truly educated. The suggestion now under consideration proposes to leave the "teaching of religion" in the hands of the sectarian schools and to put into the public schools the "teaching of the knowledge of the religions"; this latter teaching would be conducted by the public-school teachers.

This proposal would disturb the present system of public education less than would any of the other suggestions which urge the supporting of religious instruction out of public funds; it would maintain the unity of the present school system, secure high standards, assure practically universal religious instruction, and probably be declared to be legal in most of the states, since it provides for nonsectarian instruction. Securing public support for this proposal would probably be more difficult than for the proposal to place sectarian teaching in the public schools; for many of the sectarian leaders would not only fail to see any advantage to their sect in the instruction but would fear that the instruction would

be detrimental to their sectarian interests. In addition, teaching the knowledge of the religions, under even the most favorable conditions, would not meet the rigorous standards religious education must meet if it is to develop personalities which are integrated around a religious ideal. For the environment in which pupils would be placed would not itself be religiously integrated. The proposal to teach the facts of the religions in the public school claims no more as an objective than the first, simple aim of the religious educator: the teaching of a knowledge of the religions. It must be reiterated that the parochial school is in a class by itself when it comes to meeting the standards which educational theory sets as essential to meeting all the aims of religious educators. However, an observation made in discussing the last proposal is in order here also: if the suggestion now under consideration is practiced along with the suggestion of the next chapter, a kind of integration in the environment could result which would make this scheme productive of far more ideal conduct and personal integration than is true of the present education. Further amplification of this point will be undertaken later.

In the public schools of Springfield, Massachusetts, all the eighth grades in the city now study the facts of the religions in a unit called "The Contribution of Religions to Present Democratic Procedures." The following material, quoted from the Foreword to the unit, indicates the purpose of the study:

> Many of the prejudices and intolerances evident today are founded on misunderstandings of religious issues and religious affiliations together with too little information about the status of religions. It is the purpose of this unit to attempt to clarify, through historic and contemporary content, the importance and meaning of religious affiliations.
>
> Public schools have no legal or ethical right to promulgate the doctrines of any religion. Therefore, the approach should be impersonal, objective, throughout this area of content. Emphasis must be placed on the contributions *all* religions make to a better

form of daily life, and on a larger scale, to a more truly realized democracy. Pupils must come to appreciate the significance of free selection of religious affiliation in a democracy; must come to appreciate the contributions religious denominations have made in making democracy possible.

To these ends, the materials in this unit have been selected. The advice and criticism of members of the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant clergy are gratefully acknowledged.

One of the major obstacles to the widespread adoption of this type of teaching would be the fear of many people that the public-school teacher would not be able to treat the facts of the religions objectively. Presbyterians would suspect the efforts of Unitarian teachers; Catholics, of Jewish teachers; Jews, of Jesuit teachers. A proper discussion of this problem demands a consideration of what is meant by "objectivity." This word comes from the physical scientists, who have generally believed that Truth is and that it can be discovered by the careful use of the five senses; objectivity, in this meaning of the word, consists in adhering to the "facts" and in resisting any personal bias which might prejudice observation. It is immediately obvious that this type of objectivity is impossible in the teaching of religion. It is equally impossible in the teaching of the social sciences, and probably in the teaching of the physical sciences as well, as some of our contemporary scientists are contending.

But the word *objectivity* is also used in another sense, one that does not assume that man can achieve some cosmic yardstick, Truth, against which he can measure his ideas. It assumes rather that human thinking is incapable of knowing when it has reached final Truth; that given freedom, men will in their thinking come to opposing conclusions; and that objectivity consists in presenting in a favorable light the opposing points of view. This conception of objectivity is particularly useful in the social sciences, where there is at present no consensus concerning the frame of reference against which the truth of ideas can be judged.

Using the word *objective* in this latter sense, it is not unreasonable to think that teachers could be objective in their treatment of religion. Of course, given the present tradition of religious intolerance, and the present ignorance of the various religious cultures, we could not expect a high standard of objectivity on the part of the public-school teacher. Yet if the teacher became informed about the various religions, and if he conceived of his function as the teaching of the knowledge of the religions, objectivity of religious instruction would be no more difficult to achieve than objectivity in any other controversial field. We do not keep the public schools from teaching political science because teachers must themselves be either Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, or Communists. We expect the teacher of government, whatever his personal politics may be, to present the various points of view; similarly with economics, or foreign relations, or the present babel of conflicting psychologies. There is every reason to believe that objectivity of this sort can be achieved in the teaching of religion. Thirty years ago John Dewey, writing in the *Hibbert Journal,* lamented: "I fear the day has not come when the history of religion can be taught as history." Probably that day will never come, for it must await the time when competent historians *know* the history of the religions. Dewey's statement assumes that a knowable history exists. What we actually have is agreement among the scholars concerning some of the items, and disagreement concerning other items. All we can ask of the teacher of religion is an effort on his part to deal fairly with all the points of view. I believe the teacher could succeed in such an effort in the same way he succeeds in treating other controversial subjects. At the present writing my son is taught in the elementary school by a young woman who is a devout Catholic. I covet for him the privilege of receiving at her hands "objective" instruction in the knowledge of the religions. Since he is reared in a Congregational home and attends a Congregational church

school, I think she would probably be a better teacher of religion for him than a Protestant would be.

Another objection to this type of organization of religious instruction is that many of the sects would never consent to having their children exposed to the teaching of other denominations. The prevailing sectarian attitude is that young people cannot be permitted to study the ideas and practices of other religious groups unless such study is calculated to protect the faith of the child. Favorable consideration of other religious conceptions, the attempt to understand why religious groups believe as they do, the effort to see all the good possible in other religious ideas would be anathema to the leaders of most of the sects today.

Persons who have such an attitude would resist the proposal now under discussion and thus make difficult its adoption. Would this opposition be so serious as to make unwise the adoption of this proposal as the program of religious education in this country? There is no way to answer this question except to canvass the leaders of the sects. There is a strong probability that if such a canvass were made, prior to any effort to expound the proposal, a majority of the religious leaders would oppose its adoption. For they have become so accustomed to protecting their youth from the tenets of other creeds that any deviation from this program would appear to them as an invasion of inalienable rights. I feel, however, that there is among church leaders so poignant a consciousness of their failure to do an adequate job of religious education and so deep a conviction among them of the necessity of bringing a religious challenge to American youth that, after a careful consideration of all of the factors in the situation, many of them would be favorable to the proposal.

Teaching the knowledge of all of the religions in the public school would not mean that the many sects which believe their own statement of religion to be the perfect and only

Truth need forsake that faith. It would simply mean that there would be available the means for presenting this Truth to an erring public—in competition, to be sure, with error (other sectarian faiths). Is it not a sign of weakness of faith and not of strength of faith to be unwilling to submit one's creed to examination by others? The power of the truth when attacked by error is so great that the truth will be victorious when discussion is really free and undictated. When discussion is not free but directed by ulterior motives, then we may be afraid for our faith. If we can achieve the kind of objective teaching which gives fair and favorable consideration to all the religions, then every sectarian who really has faith in his creed should be anxious to have it presented to all the youth in the public schools. For, while some students might be attracted to the erroneous teaching of opposing sects, many more would be won over to the creed which represents the Truth.

It would be very easy, however, to overestimate the amount of shifting which would take place among the sects as a result of teaching the knowledge of the religions. For the presentation of the religions in the public schools would be an intellectual rather than an emotional affair; the schools are conspicuous generally for their failure to educate the emotions, and in the field of religion, certainly at the beginning, a studied effort could be made to avoid emotionalizing the instruction. It is a misconception to suppose that for most people intellectual factors control the choice of a faith. Family connections and childhood experiences are the items which usually determine what religion a person practices. Thus the teaching of the knowledge of the religions in the public schools would present little danger of loss of support to the individual sects, it would insure that all of the children of the nation would have the beginnings of a religious education (the knowledge of the religions), and it would probably greatly increase the number of children who adhere to some traditional religion,

since the half which now receives no religious education would at least receive instruction in religious information.

Thus the task of the sectarian school would be greatly lightened and the probability of its achieving its difficult aims would be greatly increased. Probably under such arrangements a much higher type of sectarian school would be developed than now is in existence. For if religion were taught sympathetically in the public schools surely it would not be long before such teaching would have a reflex on the religious interests of the American people. In such a case the voluntary support of sectarian schools would unquestionably be favorably affected. Thus our Sunday Schools, our weekday schools, and our vacation schools might receive the voluntary support which would make possible a kind of program envisaged by those who favor the maintenance of the present arrangements for religious education.

It hardly needs to be pointed out that if such a scheme of religious education were deemed unsatisfactory by any religious group, this group could secure the kind of education it considered essential by establishing private schools.

One aspect of the proposal to teach the knowledge of the religions in the public schools is that it would make more meaningful the religious freedom of which we Americans are so proud. Americans need to become aware of the kind of religious freedom which they now enjoy. A man is free in any area of living when he can make decisions in that area without being subject to human coercion, when he can make a judgment concerning several possible courses of action and decide to adopt one as his own. Religious freedom can be lost either by compelling a person to adopt a given faith (the historic method of the religious despot, against which we Americans have rebelled) or by withholding from a person facts which are essential to an intelligent choice among the possible religions.

Very few Americans possess the kind of religious liberty

which enables them to choose their own religion. For religious liberty in America is not the possession of persons but of sects. What the American tradition actually supports is the maintenance of a competitive religious field in which the various denominations have freedom of action. We have a laissez faire religious as well as economic theory. This fact has favored the liberty of the sect but has gravely hampered that of the individual. The sects—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish —have uniformly indoctrinated their youths, have carefully excluded favorable consideration of opposing views, and have usually built up prejudice against other religious groups. The prevailing method of religious education in the United States is one which withholds information and which segregates thinking.

Now if good thinking is of the kind which takes into consideration all of the possible courses of action, and if the true goal of religious freedom is the freedom of individual persons, then America needs to displace her present pride in her religious liberty by a good chunk of humility. Practically all of our citizens possess but the freedom of ignorance; they do not know the religious possibilities. The system of sectarian, voluntary support of the means of religious education has resulted in no systematic instruction at all for half of the nation. Thus this half is easy prey for prejudice, superstition, and other unsavory religious manifestations. The vast majority of the other half know but one ism. They are not free; for they have been filled full of misconceptions concerning other sects and are inclined to view them with suspicion. They are thus easy marks for the organizers of outfits like the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion. It would be too much to hope that the objective teaching of the knowledge of the religions in the public schools would do away with religious prejudice, but it would go a long way in that direction, and it would give those youths whose lives are much influenced by intellectual concerns the information

about religion which is so essential to personal religious choice.

Professor Johnson, in a discussion of "Our Secular Culture," proposes that the public school teach religion

in the social studies program. The assumption . . . that participation in religious worship and religious activity is a part of normal adult behavior, dictates that the same frank approach be made to a study of the churches as is now made to the study of the industries, the press, the government and the cultural activities of "our town." Where are the churches? *What* are the churches? Why do people go to them? What are their common interests and what are their main differences? What activities do they carry on? This, it may be said, is studying *about* religion, not studying religion. Quite so. Studying *about* is the beginning of *study*. It is the way an orientation is effected. But such inquiry has in it the element of participation based on interest. It is in the nature of group exploration—an "activity program." It is cooperative in a very explicit way, for there will always be members of the various churches in the student group who can give their fellow-students the benefit of their own knowledge.[18]

Professor Elliott points out that religious instruction in the public schools could be integrated with the rest of the curriculum and not treated as a thing apart:[19]

Leaders in the church school should join with public educators in developing a community sentiment which will enable public educators to introduce religion at the places it integrally belongs. For example, a class in social science studying the community must have the chance to study the church as well as the other institutions of society. A teacher of history must not be so filled with fear of arousing controversy that he cannot deal honestly and thoroughly with the manifestations of religion and of the church in history. A teacher of literature must not be kept from interpreting the religious experiences which are given expression in great poetry and great prose.

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[18]Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–188.

[19]*International Journal of Religious Education* (November, 1940), Vol. 17, p. 9.

The seventh proposal: Teach democracy as an item of religious faith

A brief review of the definition of religion which was presented in the first chapter will facilitate the discussion at this point. It will be remembered that there it was argued that "religion is what a group (or individual) does to keep life progressing in line with what the group (or individual) believes to be the fundamental demands which the universe makes on human beings." The earmark of religion, as I asked the reader to consider it, is the belief on the part of the devotee that he must behave in certain specific ways in order to be in line with the essential nature of things, with ultimate reality. He may feel, as do the traditionalists, that ultimate reality is personal, is God; in that case his religion is to do the will of God. Or he may feel, as do the materialists, that ultimate reality is impersonal and mechanical; in that case his religion is to live in accordance with the laws of nature.

Now, using the word *religion* in this inclusive sense, there are many people today who are urging that the democracy which will continue in time of crisis will be a democracy which has its roots deep in the religious convictions of a people. Effective belief in democracy is the faith that it is the will of God (or the law of nature) that the most satisfactory human living will come to those persons who live democratically; it is the faith that, though societies in the long run can choose whether they will live under autocratic government or under democratic government, societies which are democratic will be more productive of human happiness than will autocratic ones, because they operate in accordance with the will of God (or the laws of nature). Effective belief in democracy thus reflects one's faith in ultimate reality. Such a belief is made of the warmest cloth we humans know; it is not opportunistic, built of flimsy material, fit to be discarded in bitter weather. It is a kind of belief on which

adequate personal and social living can be founded and for which men are willing to sacrifice and die.

Democracy is not found chiefly on paper; it is in the aspirations, the visions, the basic values of *people*. Every mature individual must have a hierarchy of loyalties; every stable society also must have a hierarchy of loyalties. The supreme values of any society are the values for which people will give the last full measure of devotion. Democracy assumes the character of religious faith when it is believed that no other method of social control can equal democracy and that one day all men will see the wisdom of living under its benign rule. In such a society democratic concepts would furnish the *frame of reference* for personal and group decision.

John Dewey has written of the relation between democracy and religion:

> These two views give . . . depth and urgency to the question whether there are adequate grounds for faith in the potentialities of human nature and whether they can be accompanied by the intensity and ardor once awakened by religious ideas upon a theological basis. Is human nature such a poor thing that the idea is *absurd?* I do not attempt to give any answer, but the word *faith* [italics his], is intentionally used. For in the long run democracy will stand or fall with the possibility of maintaining the faith and justifying it with works.[20]

Eduard Beneš has written in a similar vein:

> For democracy what is primary and fundamental for human evolution is not material force but *spiritual and moral force,* which in the final solution of the conflicts of ideas and interests must always predominate. . . . *Democracy as a system of thought cannot be antireligious* [italics his].[21]

Harold Rugg writes as follows:

> As the years have passed I have become convinced that the

[20] *Freedom and Culture,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1939, p. 126.

[21] *Democracy, Today and Tomorrow,* Macmillan, New York, 1939, p. 138.

life and program of the school, like life in the American democracy itself, must be focused and given motive power by a great purpose. Professor Bode said to me recently: "To make democracy work we must make a religion out of it."[22]

Charles Clayton Morrison has written in *The Christian Century:* "The last stand of democracy will be in the realm of the people's faith; . . . religion is the inner citadel of democracy."

Those who favor the proposal to teach democracy as religion assert that the project would need to utilize the energies of many agencies but that the school should be the agency which is used as the center of such teaching. The school has contact with all Americans, and its teachers and administrators are already devoted to the democratic ideals. The teaching of democracy as religion is much too important a concern for us to permit it to be the task of no agency in particular. Other agencies—the family and the church—can give invaluable service; but if we try to give them the major responsibility, the coverage will be spotty and the teaching usually inexpert. The coverage of the schools—public and private—is universal. Furthermore, the schools can provide skilled teaching of the democratic faith. Also, there appears to be no legal difficulty which would prevent the public schools from entering immediately upon an effort to teach democracy as religion.

The proposal can be objected to on the ground that it would be unpolitic to use the word *religion* to describe the kind of teaching which is under consideration. Persons who hold this opinion may agree heartily with the proposal to teach democracy as an item of ultimate faith; and they may have agreed with the writer that for purposes of this discussion *religion* is to be defined as was suggested. But they may nevertheless refuse to approve the proposal to call instruction

[22] *That Men May Understand,* Doubleday, Doran, New York, 1941, p. 277.

in the fundamentals of democracy by the name *religious* education. Such persons would hold that the word should be reserved for traditional religious instruction and that some other word should be found to describe the democratic teaching of the school. They would argue that the whole idea of permitting the public school to have any traffic with religion is so foreign to the thinking of Americans and would arouse such a train of prejudices, that the use of the word *religion* would effectively postpone for decades any vital teaching of democracy as an item of religious faith, that what teachers had better do is to recognize, themselves, the religious nature of the teaching but use another, less emotional word to describe it.

I am perplexed as to the wisdom of this position. It is, of course, true that the word does not count, if we can have the reality. Many peoples whose religious conceptions have been highly developed do not have a word which summarizes the religious life. The Old Testament, for example, does not contain the word *religion*. Perhaps a way can be found to teach democracy as religion and yet avoid any conscious connection with the traditional religions. This development, however, appears to me to be very unlikely. Furthermore, would not the conscious support of the churches and synagogues be a tremendous asset in teaching democracy as an item of religious faith?

It can be objected that the teaching by the public schools of a religion of democracy would be very difficult, if not impossible, because so little is known about how to teach religion; the public school has enough difficulty in trying to achieve objectives which are far easier to attain than the teaching of democracy as religion. No doubt there is much truth in this position. Yet what agency is better equipped to teach democracy? It is true that the church schools have at the present time a corps of workers who have a very positive attitude toward the teaching of religion; their co-

operation would be of great value. But this attitude on the part of its teachers is about the only advantage which the church school has over the public school; the church schools are not strong educational agencies—that is, strong in comparison to the gigantic task of giving all American children experiences which will result in democratic action. If all American children are to be taught democracy, the public school must carry the major responsibility.

The present ignorance concerning the best methods of teaching religion need not be permanent. If agencies, adequately staffed and financed, were assigned the task of discovering better methods of teaching religion, our techniques would quickly improve. Perhaps cultural lag in religion is nowhere more clearly in evidence than in the failure of every denomination to make large appropriations for research. If the public schools were teaching religion, public funds could and should be used to finance research in religious education. The success of the Character Education Inquiry is an indication that large-scale research projects hold great promise for religious education.

It can be objected that the public schools cannot teach democracy as religion because there is no consensus in American society as to just what democracy is. Democracy means one thing to the members of the D.A.R., another to the rank and file of the C.I.O., and something else to the professors of political science. This situation presents a real difficulty. In teaching a religion of democracy, would the public schools teach the ideas espoused by the superpatriots or the ideas presented by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association? The answer to this question would no doubt have to take the form of a compromise, a compromise built on the major elements of historic American democracy, a tradition to which all groups give at least lip service. Out of this tradition there could surely be developed basic propositions which would meet with the

approval of all who sincerely wished to further democracy. The Bill of Rights, for example, furnishes an excellent basis for a democratic creed. Such a creed would no doubt be subject to various interpretations, a fate that is suffered by all basic propositions, whether religious, legal, or philosophical. And yet, even though variously interpreted, such a creed could furnish the essential core of agreement which makes possible a genuine community.

Into this creed could also be incorporated many of the elements of character education. What has usually passed for character education has been shown by the cold light of scientific inquiry not to possess the values usually claimed for it; thus, few public schools today make a frontal attack on character development. Yet Professor Bower is clearly correct when he writes: "It yet remains to be demonstrated that any program of character education can be wholly effective that does not in one way or another take religious attitudes and commitments into account."[23] I am convinced that basic moral imperatives like the ethical demands of the Ten Commandments could be successfully taught by the public schools, if the teaching were approached from the religious point of view. The possession of such basic qualities of character as honesty, truthfulness, the keeping of one's promises, and regard for the welfare of others is fundamental to the successful operation of a democracy. The teaching of these ethical qualities to the point where most members of society act on them must be the task of many agencies; yet, since the school is the only agency outside the home whose coverage is universal, its responsibility to teach the basic ethical demands should be fully acknowledged. These ethical demands could and should form a part of the democratic creed.

A grave danger in the formalization of a democratic creed would be that, once it was agreed upon, it would tend to

[23]William Clayton Bower, *Church and State in Education,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, p. 34.

become static and very difficult of amendment. Is there any reason, however, why there should not be incorporated into the creed itself the discoveries of the social scientist concerning the necessity for social change if social arrangements are to keep abreast of human needs? We tend to have a passionate devotion to the good old ways of doing things, a devotion which approaches religious commitment. Yet in a day of rapidly changing material culture we cannot have a social organization which keeps within hailing distance of human needs unless our citizens are committed on a religious basis to the constant search for improved social arrangements.

Conclusion

We have now considered the arguments for and against seven proposals for the reorganization of religious education. It is clear to all who are aware of current trends that reorganization is necessary. If we wish to avoid religious catastrophe, we must make more adequate provision for religious instruction. Choosing to continue the present arrangements is really choosing to keep formal religious education one of the minor concerns of our culture. If that course is followed, there is no escape from the conclusion that a kind of indigenous American religion will probably arise. It, rather than the historic religions, will command the fundamental allegiance of the American people. Such religions have arisen in Russia and in Germany. If this kind of faith arises in America, the historic religions can hardly expect to become more than centers of antiquarian interest; and democracy probably cannot survive.

The purpose of this chapter has been to make an impartial statement of the various proposals. Which proposal or which combination of proposals makes the most practical basis for effort on the part of schoolmen and churchmen? To an attempt to answer this question we turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

Toward a Better Education

THE education of tomorrow will differ from the education of today. It is true that today in the United States we have a superior system of schools, if we compare it with the system of a century ago. At that time many schools were in session but a few weeks of the year; they reached but a fraction of youth; they were housed in rude, cheerless buildings; they were taught by persons who frequently were scarcely more than literate. In comparison with such schools our present system of education is magnificent indeed. With the exception of some remote or mountainous regions and of some states with large Negro populations, all American communities provide for universal, elementary schooling. Our system of high schools, covering practically the entire nation and enrolling over six million students, presents educational opportunities which were unknown in former times. The high schools have brought education to the average man; and if it is true, as some observers allege, that the caliber of work done in them is inferior to work done on similar levels in European countries, it must be remembered that in these countries only a selected few have a part in secondary education. The American four-year college enrolls over a million students. Many colleges are supported by the state, fees are low, and thus it is possible for the poor boy to go as far as his brains and ambition will allow. About one-fourth of the population of the United States is engaged, full time, in some aspect of education, as students, teachers, or administrators. Thus, education is the largest occupation in the nation; since

practically every citizen has enduring contact with it during his formative years, it is also in the long run the most influential.

Enormous obstacles had to be overcome before our present educational stature was achieved: the frontier fostered a spirit of hostility toward learning; taxpayers' groups fought free schools; knowledge of effective teaching techniques was meager. Yet within the short space of a century Americans created an educational system which is perhaps our greatest national achievement.

Can we not look in the century ahead to advances in education which will be of as much significance as the advances of the past century? At many points our present educational arrangements are but the chance solutions of trial-and-error searchings; they are the product of a social movement but newly born, a movement that was struggling against popular indifference and antagonism. Today education's place in the public affections is secure; and, what is more important, it is increasingly becoming the object of systematic research. In recent decades the pace of educational change has accelerated rather than diminished. A new education is on the way.

Will this new education be used to preserve and increase the freedom of the American people? Or will it be seized by some special interest which has been permitted to gain power by a people whose educators were not clever enough, and which maintains power by a deliberate and sinister use of the schools? It has happened elsewhere. If Americans succeed in preserving and increasing democracy, it will be because American educators—clergymen, writers, social workers, and parents, as well as teachers—succeed in creating a new, democratic education.

Surely it is clear that a realistic education, an education which is able to fortify the nation against totalitarian movements and which is able to play a creative role in the forma-

tion of a more democratic society, must take religion into account. If our democratic nation fails to awaken in its citizens *religious* devotion, it can scarcely hope to maintain itself in competition with social orders which offer to youths personal destinies that merge with the destinies of the nation, which fortify the sense of security by constant indoctrination, which strengthen national unity by monstrous celebrations.

A sharp warning must be voiced here against the tendency to yield to the old habit of identifying religion solely with what happens in the churches. As the word is being used here, people act religiously whenever they act in harmony with what they believe to be central in the universe, whenever they strive to think and live in accordance with the law of the universe as they conceive it applying to them. When religion is so conceived, religious education becomes the most important determinant of national destiny.

Today's solution of the problem of how to provide for education in religion was evolved a century ago. At that time knowledge of educational techniques was scant, religious education was confused with sectarian education, and the solution which was evolved came as a result of political compromise. The secular school was not the result of lack of concern for religion; rather, it resulted because men could see no other way of preserving freedom than to make religious education the responsibility of the home and of the church, and to throw religion as well as sectarianism out of the public schools. Today it is clear that the solution worked out a hundred years ago is inadequate; our great-grandfathers threw out the baby with the bath.

In building a new education how can religion be made the effective agency which it must become if the United States are to be the home of free spirits living creatively in a changing world? To what practical devices can we turn in the effort to build a more effective education in religion? In answering these questions we must seek a solution which meets

four basic standards. 1. The division between church and state must not be compromised. 2. No one social agency must be expected to carry the whole burden. 3. The demands of a realistic educational psychology must be met. 4. The temptation to be overawed by the inertia of long-established institutions must be resisted. All four of these standards must be kept clearly in mind in our effort to choose a practical program, an effort to which the remaining pages are devoted.

Utilize existing agencies

The first element in a practical program appears to me to be a careful utilization of the existing agencies. It would be a tragedy of the first order for a movement aimed at increasing the effectiveness of religious education to deride or even to ignore the efforts which are currently being made. Revolution—whether of governments or of institutions—tends to destroy the good as well as the bad. There is much of good in the current schools of religion. The point of the discussion in the preceding chapter of the effectiveness of the current schools was not to assert that they are of little worth; the point was that these schools cannot possibly by themselves fulfill the obligation now laid upon them, nor can they, with the resources now at their disposal, influence in a serious way the religion of more than a relatively small number of individuals. Yet the present schools of religion have had long years of experience; they are going concerns, not paper organizations, and they have a large corps of devoted teachers. Furthermore, it is surely true that religion is taught more by example than by precept; where can children behold under favorable circumstances the fruits of the various sectarianisms except under sectarian auspice? Children must have the support of a *community* if their religious education is to be deep and meaningful. Now, in America we are not one religious community, but many. It is imperative, therefore, that every sect maintain its own school. The specific functions of this

school would depend on the nature and effectiveness of the programs of other agencies of religious education—the home and the public school—but these functions must in any case include the building of a community of persons who get their final religious sanctions, inspiration, and security from the sectarian group.

The Protestant churches should take their Sunday Schools with a great deal more seriousness. These schools could be developed to the point where they would be much more adequately housed and equipped; they could be in session for a full three hours on Sunday morning; they could have teachers who work with more skill than they do today. Such schools could have a major part in forming the character ideals of some children; they could teach children how to worship; they could teach the basic denominational beliefs; they could be a center around which the sectarian community revolves.

Sunday School officials must insist on higher standards, if these ends are to be accomplished. They must no longer consider that girls not yet out of high school can have charge of classes, that the school can run without an adequate library, that playgrounds are the special province of the public schools. But the place at which Sunday School officials must completely reorient their thinking is at the point of pupil attendance. Educationally the present attitude of teacher, pupil, and parent toward Sunday School attendance is intolerable. Children are permitted to stay away from Sunday School for all sorts of flimsy reasons—to do the dishes, to take care of the baby, because the family is going to have company for dinner, or just because they don't want to go. If the churches really begin to spend money on their Sunday School programs, they will be in a position to point out to parents that irregular attendance is a serious waste, and they can refuse admittance to children who fail to attend with the same regularity that they attend the public schools. For many decades the Sunday

Schools have striven for quantity; they now need to achieve quality.

The Sunday Schools, in my opinion, are a more promising educational agency than are weekday schools. Sunday Schools work at the beginning of the day when children and teachers are fresh; Sunday Schools can develop the sense of community more easily than can the weekday schools. In most localities weekday schools as well as Sunday Schools would be handicapped by the necessity of employing part-time teachers and thus would have no advantage at that point. Unless weekday schools work on released time, time when attendance is assured by the police power of the state, they are in no stronger position than are the Sunday Schools as far as attendance goes. If the police power of the state is to be used in support of religious education, it should be used under more promising circumstances than weekday schools afford; let the teaching of religion become an integral part of the public-school program. Religion cannot be nourished on the crumbs from the academic table.

The suggestion that the first step in the practical solution of the problem of providing adequate education in religion is the support of the existing agencies of religious education implies support of the parochial school. I approve of this implication, for here too a vast amount of machinery, devotion, energy, and tradition is in motion. The Catholic parochial schools are easily the most effective instrument in American society for education in the traditional religions. They also are the most emphatic testimony given by any American group of faith in religious education. Any program whose design is to provide for more effective religious education would be foolish indeed to ignore the experience and the opinions of the section of the population which is most concerned about the problem.

The right of any sect to maintain private schools has been firmly established by the Oregon decision. That right is not

now under serious attack, yet in the present world climate a situation might arise in which our Fascist-minded demagogues would seek power, as their counterparts in Europe have done, by anti-Catholic propaganda. The Catholic schools would be the first object of attack on the part of such persons. In such a situation the principles of religious freedom demand that Protestants, Jews, and secularists stand firmly by the side of Catholics, helping them to maintain their *right* to private schools.

Yet there is another side to the picture. Ever since the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, held in 1884, it has been obligatory on every pastor to maintain a parish school unless he is explicitly relieved of the obligation by his bishop, and it is the aim of the Catholic hierarchy ultimately to take every Catholic child out of the public schools and to enroll him in the Catholic schools. Catholics need to be more realistic than they now appear to be concerning the probable results of this policy. It is perhaps true that the present strength of the Catholic Church in America is in large measure due to its insistence on maintaining its own schools; but it is surely true that the present strength of the nation is in large measure due to the Protestant and Jewish policy of supporting a national school. The stronger private schools become, the weaker will be the public schools; this development can already be seen in some states which have many private schools. Our strongest and most alert public-school systems are not in these states; the strongest systems are in states in which few private schools draw the interest of the supporting public from the public-school system. The stronger the Catholic schools become the more other sects will have recourse to the parochial idea. Surely academic standards, national interests, and, in the end, religious freedom would suffer from a school system which was composed of many parochial units. If the day arrives when Catholics have 90 to 100 per cent of their children in a Catholic school system,

we may expect a sharp rise in the fear reactions of the dominant non-Catholic group. The situation being what it is today, I am inclined to believe that the forward-looking educator should support the Catholic Church in its efforts to maintain its present educational system, but that he should try to persuade Catholics to hold in abeyance the further development of their system and to persuade them to seek earnestly with other groups for a more satisfactory solution of the problem of adequate education in religion. Probably some parochial schools ought always to be maintained; they have an important function in furnishing a yardstick against which to measure certain aspects of public education. But private schools of any sort have serious drawbacks, as Catholic educators freely admit. If the leaders of Catholic education would give generously of their best thought and energy, they could make a signal contribution to the problem of reorganizing American public education in such a manner that it would exalt our tradition of freedom of religion and yet not be false to the essential convictions of our many religious denominations. As Archbishop Ireland so eloquently stated,[1] Catholics give supreme allegiance to both their church and their nation. They should be able to find a way to integrate their educational efforts into a school system which unifies the nation and which fosters the interests of the Catholic faith and of religious freedom.

Catholic schools ought to remain private schools. From the point of view of either the ultimate effectiveness of the Catholic Church or of freedom of religion, the effort to make Catholic schools quasi-public is difficult to justify. Efforts to get public funds for the support of schools which are controlled by a sect clearly jeopardize the separation of church and state. These efforts have so far proved unsuccessful; if they were to prove successful on a large scale, an increase in religious prejudice would be an inevitable concomitant;

[1]See page 136.

counterefforts to destroy the parochial schools would be certain to result. Catholics cannot win a state-supported parochial school in America as long as religious freedom remains a fact; if we cease to be religiously free, no denomination has promising prospects.

A careful utilization of all the existing agencies of religious education would mean that a serious effort should be made to strengthen the religious impact of the home. It has been pointed out that parents today show less concern than formerly for their religious responsibilities, and that the home by its nature cannot shoulder the whole burden of religious instruction. Yet it would be an error to conclude from these facts that the home should not be taken into account; indeed, any program of child care which fails to enlist the interest of American parents has but a small chance of success.

If the churches were seriously to undertake the obligation of helping parents to develop a more significant family religious life, if concrete and workable suggestions were made as to the content, the time, the mood, and the organization of religious experience in the home, many parents who feel keenly the increasing loss of family cohesiveness would be quick to respond. The tenor of the suggestions would vary with each communion; but they should in every case strive for high realism, avoiding mere piousness, ceremony, traditionalism. Such suggestions could help parents to establish their families as communities founded on a religious base, communities which lend strength to the traditional religions and to our democratic institutions. An example of the direction in which Christians might go is furnished by the practice of the Jews. Jews make a great deal more of the family as a religious institution than do Christians; on every Sabbath and on many other occasions the family is a center of religious experience. In most Christian families pleas for daily family prayers will not get very far. But many Christian fathers and mothers would take seriously suggestions on how the

major festivals of the church can be made more religious. Christmas can be rescued from the exclusive clutches of Santa Claus; Thanksgiving can come to mean more than merely the most elaborate meal of the year; Lent can come to be a season of spiritual enrichment rather than merely a time when one practices some mild asceticisms. Sunday also, perhaps Sunday evening, could be developed into a time of family religious education, an education which could be doubly meaningful because it is the conscious center of a religious life which is lived daily in the family circle.

Margueritte Harmon Bro states the case for stressing the training of parents in the arts of teaching religion: "The emphasis upon the religious training of the child may need to be shifted, or divided with, the parent. . . . Factors outside the home *may* make a contribution to the child's sense of values; factors inside the home *do* determine his values. Thus parent education in a very real sense precedes child education."[2]

The state could help parents improve family religious life. Surely no one will deny that it is the obligation of the state to use every means possible to teach those virtues which are essential to its own continuance. The teaching of the basic ethical imperatives and of democracy to the point where they become a part of the basic values of children is plainly the duty of the state. The state should strive consciously to enlist the aid of parents in this task. It could enter upon an extensive program of parent education in which every assistance is given to parents in their task of developing character and of making their homes democratic. It could take with much more seriousness its obligation to support adult schools, it could prepare literature, it could help the public schools to develop more significant courses in home management, it could discover ways of interesting young *men* in these courses. The end result of such efforts on the part of the

[2]Margueritte Harmon Bro, in *The Christian Century* (January 16, 1935), Vol. 52, pp. 74–75.

state could be a realistic character education and a more democratic nation.

In the public schools teach knowledge of the religions

While the support of the existing agencies—the sectarian school and the home—is clearly essential to the development of an adequate program of religious education, it is nevertheless equally clear that these agencies alone will not be sufficient: sectarian teachings do not furnish a basis for national unity; many parents are too unco-operative to make a conscientious effort to teach any kind of religion in their homes. Thus the utilization of the resources granted to the public schools by the people is essential to any adequate solution of the problem. The public schools have a universal coverage, they are manned by trained and devoted teachers, they are in a position to develop and maintain a consistent policy. In my opinion they have two essential functions in religious education: the teaching of the facts of the religions and the teaching of democracy as one item of religious faith. These functions will be discussed in turn.

If Americans generally could come to have a greater knowledge of religion, the result would be a genuine improvement in the religious quality of American life. Knowledge is power; it is one of the tools of maturity. The educational theorist rightly stresses the fact that mere knowledge does not insure wise living. And yet knowledge is the most important single ingredient of superior conduct in any field. Fundamental improvement in the diet of the average family will come only after housewives know more of the modern discoveries in the field of nutrition. Widespread efforts to conserve the soil await the day when farmers know more about erosion. Systematic social change can be achieved only after society's leaders understand more of the nature of cultural lag. In similar fashion a more adequate religious life is dependent on increased knowledge of the religious possibilities.

Effective education, say most educational theorists, must deal with every significant and worthy aspect of the culture of which it is a part. "Education is life," runs a popular definition. Dr. Morrison has written:

> The school is a method of introducing each new generation into the wisdom and the values which the community cherishes. Its function is to initiate the growing child at each stage of his growth into an increasing participation in the cultural values and the practical activities which make up the life of the community. . . . It is just as truly the function of public education to teach religion as to teach any other subject in the present curriculum.[3]

Surely it is clear that throughout history religion has been one of the elemental concerns of man. Choice spirits in every age have devoted their lives to it. Whole epochs have been dominated by religious institutions. It is no more possible to understand the West without a knowledge of the history of Christianity than it is to understand the West without a knowledge of the history of science. The student of literature must know the Bible. The sociologist cannot ignore the church and the synagogue. The psychologist who fails to take into account religious motivation and purpose has a truncated science. What sort of education have we which ignores Isaiah, Jesus, Hillel, St. Augustine, St. Francis, Maimonides, Martin Luther, Loyola, John Wesley, George Fox? Education without religion is an incomplete education.

Greater knowledge of the religions would decrease the religious prejudice of the American people. How much more understanding there would be among the sects if the Methodist boy could come to know why the Catholic Church teaches that the Pope is infallible, and why the Jews do not accept Jesus as the Messiah! How much richer would our corporate religious life be if the Catholic girl were to learn why there are so many Protestant denominations, and why the Jews do not include the New Testament in their Holy Scriptures!

[3] *The Christian Century* (May 7, 1941), Vol. 58, p. 618.

How much more realistic might our efforts toward religious amity become if Jews knew the significance of the Holy Communion, and knew that except for a few important fundamentals all Catholics do not "think alike"!

A profound ignorance of religion characterizes the present generation of young people; most laymen are totally unaware of the extent of this condition. A young college teacher of religion, preparing to conduct his first class in the Bible, wished to learn how much his students knew of the subject. At the first session of the class he gave his students, all juniors or seniors, a short quiz. He asked such questions as "Name the two major divisions of the Bible," "Name one of the prophets," "Name the four biographies of Jesus." The average grade was 35 per cent. One of the questions was, "Is this statement true or false, 'The Prodigal Son was a brother of Jesus'?" Two seniors marked it true. The ignorance of the general public in matters religious is shown by an item of news which appeared recently in American newspapers: "(Delayed) The Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church challenges the fundamental basis for the Pope's authority as the vicar of Christ on earth." An enterprising young reporter hastened to seek the opinion of a well-known Jesuit on this statement. His reply was that the information could hardly be classed as "news." *The Christian Century* wrote, " 'Delayed' indeed it was—about a thousand years." Clearly the present generation is ignorant of even the basic religious distinctions. Older people regularly underestimate the ability of young people to think and just as regularly overestimate their information—especially in the field of religion.

If the public schools were to teach religious information, then the sectarian schools would perhaps be able to achieve the high goals set for them. A division of labor would be established between these two types of school. The sectarian schools would be in a position to build on the foundation laid by the public schools, and the public schools would studiously

avoid making any sectarian appeal. Public-school teaching would thus be objective in the sense that it would present all the major religious systems.

The problem of securing competent and objectively minded teachers of religion can easily be solved. Once it is known that the public schools desire such teachers, the colleges will establish departments to train them. Nor will there be a dearth of students in these departments. The only factor which keeps students in large numbers from preparing to teach religion is the absence of professional opportunities.

Most of the teachers at the elementary and secondary levels will of necessity have to teach all of the religions. In state colleges and universities, however, specialists along sectarian lines ought to be provided. Such specialists could adopt the objective approach to their teaching. I have invited many sectarians—ministers, priests, rabbis—to lecture to my classes; they have been asked simply to explain their faith. They have always adjusted themselves to this standard of the classroom and have never sought to make converts, even though many were making their first appearance as classroom teachers.

In most communities the way to initiate the objective teaching of religion in the public schools is probably just to begin. Since present legal restrictions are directed against *sectarianism* in the public schools, there would seem to be no necessity in most states for elaborate legal preliminaries to the teaching of anything so obviously nonsectarian as the facts of the religions. In Springfield, Massachusetts, where this scheme is now in operation, the school board simply announced its intention to begin the instruction. Springfield is a city with strong Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups; yet there was little serious objection to the plan and much approval of it.

In most communities it would be unwise to give the task of forming the religious curriculum to a committee of sectarian leaders. Such men are usually lacking in knowledge of

educational methods, and they frequently are unable to agree among themselves on basic objectives. It would be wiser for the religiously trained public-school teachers to formulate the religious curriculum; they could seek the advice of individual sectarian leaders and invite them to give special lectures.

In the public schools teach democracy as religion

The second essential religious function of the public schools is the teaching of democracy as religion. Surely it is evident that some agency must undertake the task of teaching democracy to all Americans and that this teaching must eventuate in the faith that democracy is grounded in the eternal nature of things. "The continued existence of any society," writes George S. Counts for the Educational Policies Commission, "depends on the presence among its members of common and appropriate loyalties. If these loyalties are not deep and abiding, a society is certain to lack cohesion and integrity. . . ." "Democracy is more than institutions and ways of life. It is a great social faith. . . . It is a bold and positive faith which, now as in other times, calls men to battle for the defense and realization of noble and lofty conceptions of the nature and destiny of men."[4]

In modern society there is no agency able to teach such a faith except the public school; its teaching of loyalty to democratic living must reach down to the eternal verities. Charles A. Beard, writing for the Educational Policies Commission, says: "Education carries responsibilities which outrun the fortunes of annual, biennial, or quadrennial elections, the ups and downs of parties, the twists and turns of public opinion. In a literal sense, education is rooted in eternity."[5]

Modern men have the knowledge of what democracy is

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[4] *The Education of Free Men in American Democracy,* National Education Association, Washington, D. C., 1941, pp. 32–33, 51–52.

[5] *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy,* National Education Association, Washington, 1937, p. 118.

and of how it should function; that is, some modern men have this knowledge. A brilliant example of this understanding of democracy is the series of books published recently by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association.[6] The quotations in the paragraphs just preceding are from this series. The reader of these books is thrilled by the wealth of experience, the acumen, and the insight which our leading educators have achieved in their understanding of democracy. Their chief concern is not for governmental forms but for a spirit, a spirit which cares about people, all kinds of people.

Unfortunately, most Americans do not have this understanding of democracy; for them democracy is little more than holding party caucuses, choosing officials on Election Day, saluting the flag, marching with the Legion, and getting to know the boys down at the city hall. Allegiance to these activities is not deep; the real allegiance of most Americans is to the more ancient folkways—to the settlement of disputes by force, the right of the boss to make the decisions, the placing of many types of disability on those whose opinions disagree sharply with the majority, the maintenance of the white-Negro caste line, the protection of national sovereignty. When it comes to understanding the real nature of democratic processes or to having a part in making the real decisions on which the life of the community depends, most Americans know little of it; they do not know how to participate effectively in democratic assemblies, nor do they understand any better way of helping the community maintain its democratic forms than the conducting of Red hunts. It would be strange if any better understanding had resulted from our American system, since most of our experience in living is with institu-

[6] *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy, 1937; The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, 1938; The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy, 1938; Learning the Ways of Democracy, a Case Book in Civic Education, 1940; The Education of Free Men in American Democracy, 1941.*

tions which are run on autocratic rather than on democratic lines. Most of our folkways are inherited from the era of monarchy, and thus the control of most of our businesses, our homes, our churches, our schools is exercised at the top.

Advance toward the American dream is possible only if Americans in large numbers come to have a deeper understanding of the meaning of democracy and if their knowledge is channeled into *activity* by deep-seated religious conviction. It is imperative that every possible agency be enlisted in the task of bringing this religious conviction to American youths. The church can play a vital role; the co-operation of the home is indispensable. Yet the institutions of education must carry the largest share of the responsibility. They must do this because, as has been so often reiterated, their coverage is universal, because the public has granted them large resources, and because they possess an understanding of democracy which is superior to the understanding of any other institution. Democracy is not native to the human species; it must be learned. In fact, all of the skills which make men civilized must be learned: speech, work, courtesy, co-operation. If children are left to devise their own means of social control, they develop a bossing order, just as hens develop a pecking order—the strongest will rule, and the less strong will dominate the weak. Democracy is a complex skill, and it must be taught to each new generation. In our society the school carries the major responsibility for teaching; the school must consequently be the major agency to which we turn in the effort to teach a deep and abiding loyalty to democracy.

How can schools and colleges go about the task of teaching democracy as an item of religious faith? Unfortunately, the answer to this question must be that reliable methods are not known. People do learn their religious faith; but often the very things which are designed to appeal to them repel them. It must again be noted that the science of education is so

young that many of the most important questions in education have never been the object of serious research. Yet after this confession has been made, there are some things that can be said about how people learn their religion; and, therefore, some principles can be set down which can guide educational institutions in their efforts to teach democracy as religion.

It would seem first that any group of teachers of democracy must agree on some conception of what adequate democracy is. Into this conception ought to go, as was previously argued, the basic ethical imperatives: truthfulness, respect for property, regard for the welfare of others, etc. The principles underlying the Bill of Rights ought also to be included. The Educational Policies Commission has made an appealing statement of the articles of the democratic faith in *The Education of Free Men in American Democracy:*

> Although the boundaries of this faith are elastic and changing, the following articles, related and interwoven, must be included:
>
> First, the individual human being is of surpassing worth
>
> Second, the earth and human culture belong to all men
>
> Third, men can and should rule themselves
>
> Fourth, the human mind can be trusted and should be set free
>
> Fifth, the method of peace is superior to that of war
>
> Sixth, racial, cultural, and political minorities should be tolerated, respected, and valued.

The Commission also lists the *loyalties* which free Americans must come to possess:

> The free man is loyal,
>
> First, to himself as a human being of dignity and worth
>
> Second, to the principle of human equality and brotherhood
>
> Third, to the process of untrammelled discussion, criticism, and group decision
>
> Fourth, to the ideal of honesty, fair-mindedness, and scientific spirit in the conduct of this process
>
> Fifth, to the ideal of respect for and appreciation of talent, training, character, and excellence in all fields of socially useful endeavor

Sixth, to the obligation and the right to work
Seventh, to the supremacy of the common good
Eighth, to the obligation to be socially informed and intelligent.[7]

After a group of teachers has arrived at an adequate understanding of democracy they must of course share this understanding with their students; they must teach it with all the skill that the professional educator can muster.

The teacher of democracy will also provide his students with the *knowledge* which they need to make their democratic faith effective. The Educational Policies Commission has listed the areas of social knowledge and thought with which the free man must be familiar:

First, he has knowledge of the nature of man in society
Second, he has knowledge of the history of mankind
Third, he has knowledge of the long struggle to liberate the human mind and civilize the human heart
Fourth, he has knowledge of the nature of the present crisis
Fifth, he has knowledge of the weaknesses of American democracy
Sixth, he has knowledge of the promises, the methods, and the achievements of the totalitarian movements
Seventh, he has knowledge of the resources, achievements, and promise of American democracy.[8]

Out of teaching of this kind will come for the majority of students an intellectual conviction that democracy represents the best type of group living. But intellectual conviction is not enough. Emotional commitment, deep devotion to democracy, is also necessary. Achieving this level of education will be difficult for the schools; for what is demanded is an education of the emotions. Unfortunately, academic people put most of their faith in the intelligence; the modern college professor is as afraid of a show of emotion as was the Iroquois

[7] *The Education of Free Men in American Democracy,* Chapters 3 and 5.
[8] *Ibid.,* Chapter 6.

Indian. Anything that smacks of a high enthusiasm or a ripe hate is put down as unscientific and unscholarly. Yet the emotions are much more influential in determining conduct than is the reason. Effective religious education has always made a frank emotional appeal, and effective education in the democratic fundamentals must do the same. The faiths of democracy must be put into slogans, into stereotypes, into symbols, into songs. Education for democracy must awaken joy, elation, wonder, dedication. Saluting the flag, taking the oath of office, decorating the graves on Memorial Day, and other symbols have an important function; but more effective symbols can be created. Impressive ceremonies which glorify democracy must be developed, ceremonies which center in such ideals as racial co-operation, encouragement for the creativity of all group members, religious freedom, loyalty to peaceful means of settling disputes, dedication to the continuous reshaping of social institutions. Such ceremonies could recall the glories of the past, paint the possibilities of the future, examine present living in the light of the ideal, and awaken the emotions of sacrificial living for democratic ends. Students should have the opportunity to participate in these ceremonies periodically. The Nazis have created such ceremonies in glorification of their ideals. Some of our present patriotic celebrations are efforts in this direction, though they are weak and inadequate. The churches and synagogues have had a long and varied experience in the conduct of services which glorify religious ideals. From these various sources the schools can draw patterns which will aid them in developing ceremonies which are atune to the academic setting. These group experiences can make democratic ideals emotionally vivid and can be a vital part of the effort to teach democracy as an item of religious faith.[9]

[9]See William Clayton Bower, *Church and State in Education* (Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1944, p. 67), for a discussion of the place of religious ceremonials in the school.

Achieving an adequate understanding of democracy, teaching the knowledge which must undergird it, and developing ceremonials which elaborate it will not of themselves create democrats. With these activities must go a great deal of practice in democratic living. Two evils characterize ethical teaching which is not grounded in extensive practice of ideals: the teaching does not produce the ends which the educator hopes to achieve; and it produces disintegration of character, personality which gives lip service to one set of ideals and actually lives by another. If the schools and colleges undertake to teach democracy to the point where it becomes a religious conviction, they must provide for extensive practice in democratic living.

Unfortunately, the present situation concerning the practice of democracy in the schools is not encouraging; this situation exists on all levels of education. In the average public school the pupil gets more practice in adjusting to autocracy than to democracy. He attends a class where the decisions are made by the teacher. To be sure, if the class is going to have a party or if it is going on an observation trip, committees may be elected and votes taken; but when it comes to the solid business of everyday schoolwork, the teacher makes the decisions. We are told repeatedly that the object of American education is to make people think. The object of the schools which I attended was chiefly to get students to remember and to conform. Today most college students are required to get as much of the professor's lecture as they can into their notebooks and then to pass it back to him on examination papers. Mob pressure is excessive; a different idea, a different ambition, or a different necktie is laughed off the campus by the youngsters who are supposed to be learning how to think.

In some of our schools a genuine effort is made to secure democratic student government; but my observation is that on all educational levels what passes for democratic student government is usually the handing over of the administrator's

authority to the "natural student leaders." These leaders have received their skill in government from their experience in unsupervised boyhood gangs, and they wield a big stick. This kind of student government doubtless takes many worries off the shoulders of harassed administrators, but it is hardly a school for democrats. Little autocracies of this type are potential schools for barbarians; for what they actually teach is domination on the part of the strong, and submission on the part of the weak.

Fortunately, there are in this country a few schools which succeed in giving their students genuine practice in living as democrats. The Educational Policies Commission surveyed some of these schools and has published the results in *Learning the Ways of Democracy*. This book gives many illustrations of methods of providing democratic experience both in the classroom and in out-of-class school activities.

In the classrooms of our more democratic schools students carry significant responsibilities for the direction of the classwork. They choose the topics which shall be discussed, they plan the methods of study, they conduct discussions and laboratory exercises, they discipline unruly members. Giving students such responsibilities is contrary to traditional methods of teaching; yet it is rooted in a realistic psychology. Learning democracy must be an *active* process. Students can learn to handle freedom and responsibility only through experience. We learn to choose by choosing; and we learn by our mistakes as well as through our successes. Democracy is a process in which all the people choose and bear the consequences of their choices. It is true that giving students freedom and responsibility in the classroom implies high confidence in the essential trustworthiness of human judgment, when it works under favorable circumstances; but that is one of the cardinal articles of the democratic faith.

The out-of-class school activities present an excellent opportunity for the practice of democracy. A kind of democracy

is already in operation in most of the nonathletic activities—in the clubs, the debate teams, the dramatic organizations, the social life. Even the athletic program might be rescued from the talons of the adults and be given over to democratic student control. For the most part, the democratic efforts of the out-of-class groups are untutored and inexpert; frequently they are of such a kind as to discourage the members of the group in further use of the democratic method. A kind of program could be developed in which the major emphasis of the program, instead of being on the dances, the plays, the musicals themselves, would be on the democratic process through which they are achieved.

The chief caution which would need to be observed in the inauguration of such a program would be that a great deal of faculty direction would be necessary; for a vital democratic program would mean more than just turning out-of-class activities over to the students. The unfortunate result of such action would be that the "natural leaders" would assume control, and the last state of such a school would be worse than the first. Most emphatically the democratic school does not mean one that is run by the students alone. A school run by the students alone would be one in which the strongest personalities would domineer, and if some personality must domineer let it be the teacher's! The effort to make the out-of-class activities democratic would probably mean in most cases more, rather than less, teacher control. More teacher control would be especially necessary at the beginning of a program of education in democracy. But such a control would result in more democracy only on the condition that it is the control of a teacher who is very much aware of his function, a control which does not try to determine the decisions of the group but which does act as a sort of supreme court in deciding matters of procedure, and which serves as a protection against undemocratic activities.

The classroom and the out-of-class activities are thus two

clearly marked areas in which the schools and colleges can provide for experience in democratic living. There is another vital area, educational administration. Educational administrators in America universally think of their institutions as democratic; actually most of them are democratic in the same sense that the United States Army is: it exists for what are thought of as democratic ends, but it is run autocratically. This statement is so contrary to the opinions of most persons that it will be developed in some detail.

The relationship of the public-school teacher to the public-school administrator is that of employee to employer. Public-school faculties seldom undertake to settle matters of educational policy; that function is considered to be the prerogative of the superintendent and of the school board. Teachers' meetings are usually devoted to routine business or to what is euphemistically called "professional improvement." The democratic phase of our public schools usually ends with the votes which citizens cast for the school committee. That committee, once formed, seldom takes pains to operate democratically; its actions are more consistent with autocratic forms than with democratic forms.

This condition is duplicated on the college and university campus, where the major challenge to democracy is the waning power of the faculty. Present conditions are illustrated by the development in one college. There the administrative officers make all the major decisions; the faculty holds about two meetings a year. At one recent faculty meeting the dean spoke substantially as follows: "The administrative officers of the college have gone carefully into the semester system as contrasted with the quarter system. After consultation with some members of the faculty, it has been decided that the quarter system will be abandoned and the semester system adopted, beginning when college opens in the fall. I believe that this change will improve our teaching. The necessary reorganization and renumbering of courses has not yet been

completed. If any of you have any suggestions to make at this point, please communicate with the registrar."

The moral disintegration of the faculty of that college has proceeded so far that no person arose to protest so autocratic a statement. There was a time when the faculty met every Monday, sometimes for the entire afternoon. These meetings were devoted to the consideration of the most pressing problems which confronted the institution; policies were formed, strategies begun, philosophies challenged. But, unfortunately, picayune matters also came in for consideration at these weekly sessions; Joe College is not doing so well in geometry; Betty Coed is having a great many dates. And there were other ways in which the meetings were not always wisely used. A limit was too seldom put on debate, details were too infrequently referred to committees, there was too indefinite an idea of the functions of the faculty meetings. As a result they fell into disrepute. As with some of the current movie thrillers, the hero thereof was often the man who sat through them. They became the butt of jokes passed over the coffee cups, and busy teachers more and more failed to attend. That made greater administrative control inevitable. Today the faculty sits passively and listens to announcements and to "remarks for the good of the order" made by an able but aggressive president. The disintegration of democratic processes at this college reached its denouement, not when the faculty was shorn of all power, but at a still later date, when faculty members failed to realize that anything was amiss.

The situation at this institution is not a caricature of the administrative spirit of most American colleges and universities. In some institutions the powers of the faculty are being lost by default. In others traditional democratic processes are fading under the impact of dynamic presidents who want to get things done, who want to put their institutions on the map. In a few colleges rule-or-ruin administrators are imposing their will on men over whose heads they hold a finan-

cial club. One administrator looked me straight in the eye and said: "Students have no rights; they have privileges only." I had the feeling that he held the same opinion concerning his faculty. The typical atmosphere in faculty club coatrooms is "hush-hush" concerning the policies of the in-power administration; any other attitude is "sticking out one's neck."

This autocratic atmosphere cuts deep into the morale of academic institutions, inhibits creativity, and creates a spirit in which students distrust faculties, and faculties distrust administrations. These baleful results are stated so ably by the Educational Policies Commission that I quote several paragraphs from *Learning the Ways of Democracy:*[10]

The problem of purpose is never satisfactorily solved in an autocratic environment. As a matter of fact, autocratic administration is woefully inefficient in matters of policy-making, for it cuts the administrator off from his chief source of progress, namely, the intelligence and resourcefulness of his fellow-workers. The administrator who is a dictator only here and there will find that the policy-making function in his organization breaks down here and there. The more he becomes a dictator and the longer he holds an autocratic position, the more inefficient his policy-making becomes. An autocratic administrator gets the best advice on policies he will ever get at the time he first takes office. From that point forward the quality of counsel he can command from his associates is destined to a steady deterioration. The subordinate who at first is bold enough to offer opinions and recommendations soon becomes one who presents only facts. No matter how closely his mental processes parallel those of the leader, occasions inevitably arise when his suggestions vary from what the leader thinks to be correct. If they vary too much, this variation is viewed as evidence that the counselor is incompetent. Whether he is liquidated, demoted, or merely ignored is immaterial. The important point is that he is forced out of the counseling picture as a maker of proposals, a suggester of policies.

Some of the dictator's original suggestion-givers become fact-presenters. This job, too, is bound to degenerate. The fact-pre-

[10] *Learning the Ways of Democracy,* Educational Policies Commission, Washington, D. C., 1940, pp. 18–22.

senter becomes more and more a selector of facts which the boss will consider significant. Thus he moves closer and closer to the precipice over which he must eventually fall into the abyss of the yes-man, who makes up facts to order. In a real dictatorship, moreover, even this submissive falsifier has not yet reached the depths of policy-making inefficiency. There remains at the lowest circle of the Inferno a place reserved for the only one whose counsels a thoroughgoing dictator can accept year after year—the head-nodder—and even this doomed soul is forced to step up the energy of his nods until he is obviously an automaton which any self-respecting autocrat must despise. . . .

In a true autocracy the welfare of individual members of the group is always subordinated to something which is held to have greater worth than the men, women, and children in the group. . . . Children in an autocratic school may be subjected to mental starvation and spiritual violence in order "to be loyal to the traditions of the founders," "to meet the usual requirements for college entrance," "to attain proper standards of scholarship," or "to give the mental discipline for which the school has always been famous." . . .

There are three main reasons, or perhaps three phases of one main reason, why inefficiency of procedure is bound to occur in an autocracy. . . . In the first place, no agency, mechanical or human, remains efficient very long unless it is subjected to continuous evaluation. . . . In the second place, an autocracy is inefficient because it throttles inventiveness. . . . A third source of inefficiency in autocratic procedure is the fatal degeneracy of management represented by the glorification of procedure for its own sake—commonly known as "red tape."

Now if the schools are to be the primary agency which is used to educate for democracy, they must themselves become democracies; school administrations must show a new spirit of confidence in faculties and students, and arrange for basic democratic reorientation. The governmental functions of all groups who have an interest in the schools must be defined; the public, the governing boards, the administrations, the faculties, and the students must all be given significant privileges and responsibilities. These privileges and responsibilities must be specifically stated in charters and constitutions, which

are periodically revised. In very large institutions, where face-to-face democracy is impractical, representative democracy should be employed. Under such circumstances, however, care should be taken that all academic levels are included in the representative groups—freshmen as well as seniors, graduate assistants as well as full professors. Members of democratic bodies must seek to learn how to make the best use of their powers. Democratic processes must be learned by school men as well as by members of labor unions or churches. Administrators, teachers, and students must learn to have patience with the apparent slowness of democratic procedures, they must learn to listen thoughtfully to ideas with which they disagree, they must learn to distinguish between problems which are policy-making in character and problems which should be delegated to committees or executives, they must learn readily to accept responsibility for their mistakes.

The result of democratic administration on the campus would be the development of a kind of atmosphere in which personality thrives and intelligence is released. "Only from a school which is served by a socially informed and socially effective teaching personnel; from a school with a broad, humane, and flexible curriculum; from a school saturated with the educational philosophy which commands respect for the personality of each child that it touches; only from methods of instruction which not only teach but which actually *are* democracy and co-operation, will the appeal to reason be heard and heeded."[11] The basic fact about democracy is not the institutional form which it assumes but the spirit which it creates. It is a spirit which encourages each personality to contribute its utmost to the group, which welcomes differences of opinion, which allays suspicion, which diminishes rivalry, which furnishes individuals with the knowledge that their opinions and attitudes are considered significant.

[11] *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy,* pp. 31–32.

A real democracy is a group in which its members find spiritual security.

I know a college which is much nearer to being a democracy than most American schools. Its students and faculty do not have intellectual and spiritual endowments above those of the average college group. It is an institution in which there are profound differences of opinion concerning basic policies. All the legislative bodies—the board of trustees, the faculty, and the student assembly—engage in discussions which at times give the superficial appearance of being disruptive in character. Yet the democratic spirit of the place is such that there is seldom a disposition among the disputants to question each other's basic motives, there is little exercise of power for power's sake, individuals frequently sacrifice their own interests for the interests of the group, a spirit of confidence in the worth of the college is shared by all, much creative work is done, and morale is high. This institution contrasts sharply with the college described previously; yet they both have about equal endowments in personnel and equipment.

From this discussion of how schools can teach democracy it appears that four basic activities are essential, if the teaching is to reach down to the level of religious motivation. These activities are: the teaching of a worthy conception of democracy, the teaching of the information necessary to maintain democracy, the celebration of democratic ideals in symbols and ceremonials, and wide experience in the practice of democracy. If the school will engage wholeheartedly in these activities, many students will unquestionably achieve a devotion to democracy which is religious in character. It would be too much to expect, however, that they all would. The school succeeds in getting almost universal assent only to those propositions which are supported by practically all American institutions. If the schools, acting as the spearhead of the movement, can get other institutions which deal with children

to operate democratically, the chances of widespread success will be greatly increased. Democratic procedures need to be practiced by the church, the recreation center, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the summer camp. But the home is the institution which can be of the greatest help. As was observed earlier, schools have the opportunity and obligation, through parent education, to enrich family life.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to develop practical proposals for the solution of the problem of providing a more adequate education in religion. It has been argued that

- The existing agencies of traditional religious education have a vital role to play.
  - The Sunday School should be strengthened: it should be given more adequate financial support, more time in which to do its work, and more regular attendance on the part of its pupils.
  - The existing parochial schools should be maintained and strengthened.
  - The home should be encouraged to take a more vigorous part in religious education; churches should make practical suggestions to parents concerning the organization of religious life; the state should help parents to make their homes centers of democratic education.
- The resources and skill of the public schools should be enlisted
  - To teach the facts of the religions, and
  - To teach democracy as religion.

Leadership in bringing these proposals to reality would need to come from many sources.

- Elementary and high schools could begin experimentation with religious teaching.
- High schools could take more seriously the education of parents in democratic techniques.

Colleges could expand existing programs of religious instruction.
Teachers' colleges could develop curricula for the training of religious teachers.
Universities could initiate programs of research in the teaching of religion.
Leaders at all educational levels could seek to achieve a deeper understanding of both religion and democracy.
Churches and synagogues could give their schools greater support.
Churches and synagogues could initiate programs of parent education to further sectarian ideals and democracy.
Churches and synagogues could initiate programs of research in the teaching of religion.
Religious leaders could seek to achieve a deeper understanding of both educational standards and democratic methods.

These proposals meet the four standards which were set up at the beginning of the chapter. They do not compromise the division between church and state. The nonsectarian nature of public instruction is carefully guarded. It would be necessary in few, if any, of the states to enact laws making the suggested public school activities legal.

The proposals utilize the resources of various social agencies; no one agency is saddled with the whole burden of providing adequate education in religion.

The proposals are psychologically realistic. They provide for time, money, and professional skill. There can be no doubt that, if American children generally were to receive the kind of religious education suggested, multitudes of them would achieve a far more mature religion than most Americans possess today. It would be unrealistic to suppose, however, that practically all of them would. In educating for an ideal a nearly 100-per-cent success can result only when society is integrated around that ideal.

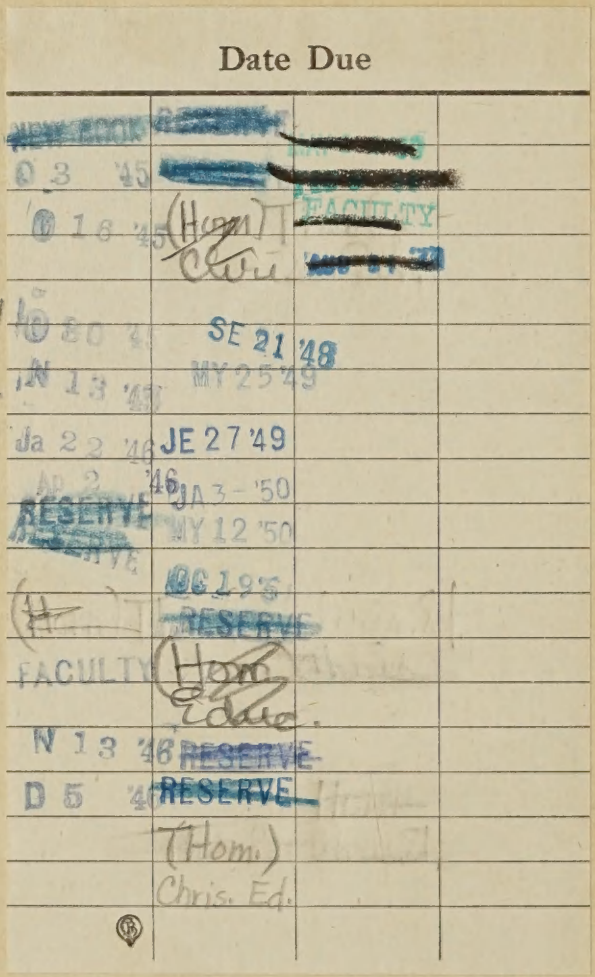
The proposals assume that we need not be overawed by the inertia of long-established institutions. The proposals may, indeed, appear to some minds to be utopian. To me they

look like stark realism. We live in a time of great danger. Either our generation will succeed in rebuilding some of the basic patterns of our society or else our children will be forced to make a desperate fight against an American Fascism. Our society requires fundamental redirection. If such basic adjustments as the proposals imply seem to be impossible of attainment, let the reader consider the recent history of social concepts. Within the span of our national life the Western world has substituted new learnings for concepts which were hoary with age and which were assumed by all sensible people to be the bedrock of society; such concepts were: the divine right of kings, the duty of religious intolerance, the common sense of slavery, the inevitability of famine, education for the aristocracy only, government by the aristocracy only. If these epoch-making learnings could be achieved by men when they struggled blindly, how much more hope there is for us, a people who have discovered some of the basic laws of learning and, what is more important, have discovered how to discover more of these laws!

If America's religious leaders will seek a more realistic understanding of education, and if America's educators will seek a more mature understanding of religion, it will be possible for us to build a new democratic education which will preserve the best in the traditional religions, which will fortify democracy, and which will give youths the tools with which to construct religious lives superior to anything their fathers and mothers knew. We *can* achieve this end. It is not as though we must start *de novo,* with the whole force of tradition against us. There is a deep emotional allegiance in America to the political phases of democracy and to the most precious aspects of our religious tradition.

But if we fail to develop this new democratic education, if we fail to give the adults of tomorrow the tools with which to construct a superior religion, they will form a religion without benefit of historical perspective, and go off the deep

end into Communism or Fascism, or more probably into some sinister form of "Americanism." If we do nothing to present more effective education in the historic religions, we must look for an acceleration in the pace at which America now steadily travels toward secularism. If we do nothing to present more effective education in the fundamental concepts which undergird our way of life, we cannot expect to preserve democracy. The very fact that we now are confronted by the possibility of disaster has brought many Americans to the place where they are willing to look beneath the surface to the causes of our troubles. Perhaps the majority of the nation can be brought to realize that the very act of refusing to make adjustments is itself the act which most endangers the historic religions and democracy. The unpardonable sin today is inaction. For us to do nothing is to abdicate.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